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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

A Report of Progress

TODAY'S rigorous test of democratic self-governing systems is emphasizing as never before the importance of sound government and sound citizenship in the local community. Increasingly evident in the United States, this has already been demonstrated emphatically by British experience. Even in a land as limited geographically as Great Britain, it is at the local level that efficient administrative methods and prompt action meet emergencies, bring speedy recuperation from disaster, and keep the wheels turning.

The test of fire now faced by the democracies accents the soundness of the primary convictions on which the National Municipal League's program is based: that our 100,000 local governments are the roots of our entire system, that local government must therefore be correctly organized and efficiently administered, that local government must be subject to the control of an intelligent and well informed citizenry.

Toward these ends the League has worked for forty-eight years. On these convictions the League has based its program and the methods by which it has provided leadership in the movement to establish good government and to raise the intelligence and effectiveness of our citizenry.

League History Completed

It is peculiarly appropriate that the manuscript of *A Half Century of Municipal Progress—The History of the National Municipal League*, by Frank Mann Stewart, professor of political science and director of the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University

of California at Los Angeles, should have been completed recently at a time when serious students of our way of life are seeking so earnestly to evaluate the forces which are important and precious to its preservation.

Dr. Stewart, after ten years of exhaustive research, has written a scholarly work from which the thousands of men and women who since 1893 have participated in the League's work will find pride in the past and inspiration for the future.

The book describes the conditions which brought the League into existence, details its methods, techniques and problems, and records and evaluates its contribution to a half century of municipal progress. Dr. Stewart tells how the League was organized in 1893 by leading citizens of many communities who, in their local civic work, had discovered the need for a permanent national organization which would serve as a clearing house for information and inspiration. Step by step he describes the work of many distinguished members and committees which kept the League in the forefront of the movement to improve local government and citizenship.

The impressive array of accomplishments and the full story of the League's work are magnified not only by the background of the sordid municipal past which Dr. Stewart deftly pictures but also by the light of the obvious need at present and in the immediate uncertain future for leadership such as that which the League furnishes.

"In reviewing the history of the League," Dr. Stewart writes in his concluding chapter, "one is impressed with

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

First Blood for the Hatch Act

SOME normally important governmental activities will be curtailed on the grounds that we must not "rock the boat" for the duration of the war, but vigorous enforcement of the Hatch Act should not be one of these. This is more vital than ever when prodigious amounts of money are being spent and unusually great powers must be delegated.

It is somewhat surprising that there have not been numerous actions under this sound and valuable law. The first such action resulted in the conviction of the manager of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation. His removal was ordered for forcing public employees to pay 2 per cent of their salaries to a political organization.

This case had a number of particularly aggravating aspects. It was shocking in the first place that the man appointed to manage an important humanitarian service had been lifted from sixth place on a list of eligibles; it was even more shocking that when his derelictions came to light state officials leaped promptly to his defense instead of indicating some desire to investigate the validity of charges brought as the result of the vigilance and intelligence of the Hamilton County Good Government League. Only in this League did there seem to be a desire to do anything but excuse and cover up. Not only were members of the state attorney-general's staff assigned to defend him,

but there was a marked tendency to rest on technicalities and to use old shibboleths like "state's rights."

Perhaps it is just as well that the defense was so resourceful, inasmuch as this case will set precedents. After the federal government has carried the case firmly through to the end, as it should, clear notice will have been served that the people will no longer tolerate the philosophy that public office is something which should be surrendered for selfish exploitation to win future elections.

The Hatch Act clearly intended that coercion of public employees by unscrupulous politicians be stopped. Popular approval of the Hatch Act is obvious. Still, had it not been for the persistence and determination of a local citizen organization, it is doubtful if the Cincinnati case ever would have come to light. It is probable, too, that many similar violations remain undisclosed for lack of equally vigilant citizen organizations.

The war emphasizes the need for more honest administration of all government activities and for vigorous nonpartisan watchdogs rather than the reverse. There must be no supine acceptance of abuses such as those disclosed by the Hamilton County Good Government League. Some politicians—the kind we naively like to think old-fashioned and almost extinct—obviously intend to reap every possible advantage.

Principle Above Party

IT HAS been said often that the political philosophies of national parties have no significance in local elections for, after all, local government consists simply of services which we can perform more efficiently and economically on a coöperative basis than we can as individuals or families.

Frequently such obviously cogent and believable statements have been limited to lip service. A notable exception was the forthright support given to this important principle in the New York City election last November by no less a personage than the President of the United States. It was especially refreshing in view

of the fact that his stand placed him in opposition to his own party whose candidate for mayor had a commendable record of service in other offices.

But in these days of close federal-city relations, few people are in a better position to appraise the service of the administration of a great city or to realize the importance of having an efficient, experienced government in the nation's greatest city. This example of the nation's titular leader in putting principle above party in local elections is particularly gratifying at a time when it is so important to sweep aside all petty considerations to insure a smoothly functioning democracy.

Saving Money for Defense

WITH the nation formally at war there will be even less patience with those "penny pinchers" who are always trying to save a few dollars here and there. But, because it is clear that the country is going to need all the dollars it can scrape together, in addition to the enthusiastic loyalty and coöperation of all citizens and organizations, we must be as economical as possible. It will help us achieve victory.

The new "use" tax on automotive vehicles is a case in point. One estimate is that it will cost about \$4,500,000 to collect the new federal tax of five dollars on the owners of each of approximately 32,000,000 automobiles, trucks, buses, etc. Congressmen are worrying about how a collecting agency should be set up.

One simple and efficient solution

suggests itself: to have the automotive licensing authority in each state collect the five dollars as simply one added item of the regular bill.

The additional expense to the states would be negligible, and no additional federal employees would be needed simply to receive forty-eight checks.

Saving a few million dollars, much as that amount will purchase in the way of arms and munitions, is not the sole question. The nation has a big job to do. It will be done more effectively if it can be done without unnecessary confusion and by using wherever possible facilities which already exist.

The collection of taxes by one level of government for redistribution to other levels is a recognized and well established practice.

'Hope of Millions Rests with U.S.'

"We are not confronted in this battle for civilization with secondary choices and lesser issues; we have to face up to the primary problem of existence with the knowledge that defeat in this war means enslavery."

By JOHN G. WINANT

Ambassador to Great Britain

President of the National Municipal League

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We reproduce below the text of President Winant's trans-Atlantic broadcast from London as it was heard at the annual dinner of the National Municipal League, held in St. Louis on November 18 during its forty-seventh National Conference on Government, President Winant was introduced by the League's immediate past president, Mr. C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, whose remarks are also reproduced.

MR. DYKSTRA:

Members and guests of the National Municipal League meeting here in St. Louis and listening throughout the nation, it is an unusual privilege to present to you the United States Ambassador to London, Hon. John G. Winant.

As most of you know, Ambassador Winant has devoted his life to public service, first as governor of his native state of New Hampshire, then at Washington as chairman of the Social Security Board, then at Geneva, Switzerland, and now in London.

Since November of 1940, prior to his selection as ambassador, he has served as president of the National Municipal League, a nationwide organization of public-spirited citizens and students of government which for nearly half a century has worked throughout the country to improve the democratic process at its grass roots in our communities and in our states.

Tonight Ambassador Winant will

address the League's forty-seventh National Conference on Government and the nation at large. In introducing Mr. Winant I cannot pay him greater tribute than to repeat the frequently expressed thought that no man in public life today is more devoted than he to the principles of democracy and all that they mean to thoughtful men and women throughout the world.

AMBASSADOR WINANT:

Mr. Dykstra and friends of the National Municipal League: A year ago when you met in Springfield, Massachusetts, I was with you, and you were good enough to elect me your president. Since then I have spent little time in the United States, but others of you generously took over the duties of that office and have carried on the good work of the League in a widening field of usefulness.

To be able to talk with you tonight across the ocean and thank you for what has been done is a privilege that I much appreciate.

We are a citizens' organization for better government. We realize as we look back over the past that one of the earliest evidences of civilization was the establishment of the town and the city. It marked man's earliest effort to live on common ground, and to stabilize that living.

Some of our simplest concepts have grown out of that experience. Much has been added to family life because of community life—the idea of neighborliness, the common school, and the town hall and the church and all that they symbolize in government and religious worship, the news center and the trade center, these have been a few of the simpler and homelier institutions we have come to accept so completely that we are hardly aware of the effort and the slow evolution that created them.

And then, as the simple communities grew into municipalities, and society strengthened its concept of justice and faith, we find a growing sense of protection accorded the citizens because we had come to realize the greater weight of human life. And so we set up our courts, and lighted and policed our streets; we organized our fire departments, and established boards of health, and set up our schools to give the child a chance.

In doing so we enlarged and complicated the problem of administration. But we have learned to improve our technique, and we have municipal government responsible to the people.

All this is known to you, and it is so much a part of everyday life that it would seem trite to speak of it if it were not for what has overtaken the people who live in the towns and cities of Europe.

These communities lay within countries whose people wanted peace and who, hoping for peace, held back against the threat of invasion, misled in their allegiance by a subtle political strategy. It was engineered by propagandists who understood all the

meaner motives of man as thoroughly as they had devised mechanized attack in the development of total war.

These communities over a longer period of time had in the main come to exercise the same rights, privileges, and immunities that were enjoyed by the towns and cities of our own country. The fact I want to bring home is the cost to them for refusing to be forewarned, for failing to unite in a common cause within their own country, and to join with other imperiled nations on a common front.

Victory or Slavery

We are not confronted in this battle for civilization with secondary choices and lesser issues. We have to face up to the primary problem of existence with the full knowledge that defeat in this war means enslavement.

I remember Vienna, which marked the first Nazi invasion. I remember Schuschnigg, and what they did to him! And the brutal personal vendettas that were inflicted on defenseless people, and the labor men and others who were shot! They closed the universities after shooting a dozen of the students, and threw the rest into concentration camps, and now the secondary schools are also closed. All private meetings of citizens are forbidden—even concerts and sporting events! Scores of prisoners have been shot, hostages taken and shot! Neither child nor man is accorded consideration.

I knew it as an ancient city of great culture so short a time ago, where a group of intelligent and disinterested statesmen in twenty years had worked out a prosperous and democratic city.

We all remember Warsaw, the shelling, the bombing, the devastation of the city! And the wanton killing of men, women, and children! During and after the invasion all the universities in Poland were destroyed, and the private schools, the public schools, and the parochial schools were all closed. It is difficult to visualize that kind of cruel and oppressive action, and what it means to any country. If you took a generation of youth out of the educational system of the United States, you would seriously retard our institutions and our way of life.

The German success in Norway was due largely to the knowledge of the country by the invading enemy, large numbers of whom had been taken into the homes of Norwegian families during the last war in order to save them from the privation of malnutrition. The stubborn resentment and resistance there have prompted the Germans to take reprisals. Only the other day, at Oslo, the leading lawyer and the outstanding labor leader of the country were charged with conspiring to reduce production of war materials which were to be used by their enemies to destroy their friends. They were put before a firing squad and shot. They refused to be blindfolded and died singing their national anthem.

Without warning the Germans invaded Holland. Near Rotterdam, where parachutists and dive bombers came down out of the sky on May 10, 1940, and where a square mile in the heart of the city was leveled to the ground by the Germans with over thirty thousand killed, old prisons which have not been used for years

are being reopened to take care of the patriots arrested by the Germans.

The story of Belgium and its cities is not different. The atrocities committed in Yugo-Slavia and in Greece by the Germans have not been equalled, even in this war.

Paris, Too

In England now, as in the United States, William Shirer's book, *Berlin Diary*, is a best seller. When he drove into Paris a few days after its surrender to the Germans, on June 14, 1940, he wrote: "Paris is weird and, to me, unrecognizable. There's a curfew at nine P.M.—an hour before dark. The blackout is still enforced. The streets tonight are dark and deserted. The Paris of gay lights, the laughter, the music—when was that? And what is this?"

The answer is given a year later. A Swiss newspaper the other day said the Parisians are preparing for a winter of hardship. Bitterness and hatred darken more and more cities in a country which seems little suited to these tragic experiences. A considerable proportion of the population is suffering greatly. It is a place where hostages are taken and shot, not for anything they have done, but in accordance with a custom abandoned centuries ago as a penalty for the acts of others.

All over the continent men are torn from their families and thrown into prison or concentration camps without trial. Many are forced to leave their own countries to join labor gangs for work in German factories, in the mines, and in the fields. In areas where rations are already on a starvation basis, food is shipped from

occupied countries to the Axis countries. Only those newspapers can be published that are in favor of co-operation and collaboration with Germany, and they are forced into continual campaigns of vituperation against the Allies and the United States.

And to those who have not given up hope of winning back the freedom of their country, it is forbidden to listen to radio stations except those controlled by Germany and Italy.

Planning for the Future

Last night in England people at Coventry gathered together in memory of those who were killed a year ago, and to place wreaths on a communal grave. They have re-organized their town. There can be no building because of the shortage of man power, but they have already worked out an architectural plan for the central area of the city, which they will work toward when peace comes. Other towns are doing likewise. There is faith and confidence here.

We don't want our towns and our cities shattered. We mean to protect our own. I respect the men at home who are trying to keep this crushing brutality from our shores and who dare to move out and fight.

These things not only strike at local governments, they strike at all governments. They are the concern of all people, everywhere. The hope of untold millions rests with us.

It will be good to see the Stars and

Stripes again in these waters. As a great American once said, "Its red is our life blood; its stars, our will; its blue, our heaven. Within its fold lies the promise of American life and with that promise rests hope for all people, everywhere."

MR. DYKSTRA:

Thank you Ambassador Winant. May I say on behalf of the National Municipal League and the radio audience how much we appreciate the counsel you have just given us at a time when more than ever before we in this country need to think straight and to determine which of the issues we face are really important.

In the course of this conference we are discussing practical methods of educating our citizens to take greater responsibility to help make free government work more effectively. We are learning from eye-witnesses the problems faced by defense communities and how citizens of those communities can solve them. We are learning how citizen leaders and public administrators can coöperate to make their communities stronger units in our national system.

We of the National Municipal League shall continue this effort through our friends and members in all parts of the country. We invite every citizen to do his part.

And in this effort, Ambassador Winant, we shall be working toward a common goal with other civic groups and organizations in every part of the United States.

Call to Action

"We can have no effective democracy on a national scale if the sources of democratic action on the local front are corrupt or even just inefficient."

By C. A. DYKSTRA

President of the University of Wisconsin

WE ARE giving lip service to the cause of democracy and we pretend at least that it is worth defending and extending. Is it?

The argument in totalitarian countries is that democracy broke down so completely, that it so universally failed to solve immediate problems, that there was no alternative but to put an end to talk and go into action under "a leader." Their leader was to do the thinking, the talking, and the acting.

Unity and Action

We have to admit, as we contemplate the floundering of the democracies, that the totalitarians had and have something in so far as unity and action are concerned. We think the cost of such action has been enormous and that the price is too high. We still insist that we prize the liberties and freedoms of the democratic way even if it means inefficiency and popular division.

We fail to see that in this modern day inefficiency cannot survive, no matter how comfortable it makes us feel. This is a time when our government must work or give way to some other manner of doing the public business.

Is business as usual—so far as governments are concerned—able to meet modern challenges? Is our practice of the democratic way good enough to make us hopeful that we can,

through the democratic processes, work out effective instrumentalities for present and future emergencies?

City "Fuehrers"

At the moment our eyes are glued to the Washington scene. We forget that the processes at Washington follow the patterns back home. We forget that under the guise of local democratic operation we have had autocracies, and even political and social dictatorship. Many local governments in the United States have operated to the advantage of local cliques and exploited the community meanwhile. The city has not been as many had predicted "the hope of democracy" but a sample of corruption and inefficiency. This generalization is not universally true. At times and in many places we have seen light and generated hope. But there are enough disappointing situations to make us question our ability to have an effective and democratic local government.

This is the time to recognize this fact. This is a strategic time for action. We can have no effective democracy on a national scale if the sources of democratic action on the local front are corrupt or even just plain inefficient. It is locally that we develop the practice of popular government and produce leadership for the state and nation. If we cannot manage local affairs well there is

little promise of success on a national scale.

If then we are in earnest about the success of the democratic way in the nation and in the world we have a job to do right at home.

War and Local Government

Two things should be clear to us as we look abroad. The dictators grew out of the failures of democratic experiments and, second, the protection of the democratic way is in the hands of local authorities in England for instance. Nothing is more heartening in the English scene than the way in which local authorities are operating today. Local police and fire forces, local defense authorities, local air raid wardens, local patriotism and civic action, are the backbone of the defense of the British way of life. War, in so far as it is defensive at least, is a civilian matter in England. The local governments have been at least as active as the national forces.

Here in this session of a national organization—the National Municipal League—dedicated for almost half a century to the cause of efficient and democratic local government, we

have a right to believe that we have been engaged in one of the important factors in national defense. We have insisted through the years that we must have: (1) sensibly organized local governments, (2) democracy really representative, (3) sound and effective administration, (4) non-political personnel chosen through merit systems, (5) clean financial procedures, (6) an alert public opinion with the opportunity for expressing itself, (7) good municipal reporting, (8) local civic organizations to be the watch dogs of democracy.

We still believe that in a national emergency one of the strong arms of national defense is a local government of which we can be proud. If we have to apologize constantly for the way we operate our community democracy how can we with any conscience proclaim to the world the values of the democratic way and fight valiantly for the freedoms which we declare are inherent in that way?

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Excerpts from address given at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 17, 1941.

Drafting the Nation's Brain Power

"This war will impose new and greater burdens, but we have never yet brought to bear our greatest force—our greatest untapped resource—the brains of our people."

By **GEORGE H. GALLUP**, Director
American Institute of Public Opinion

FOR six years it has been my privilege to direct the interviewing of many hundreds of thousands of American citizens representing all walks of life—farmers, day laborers, relievers, bankers, college professors. I have had opportunity to examine the opinions and comments of these people on all the vital social, political, and economic issues of the day. This experience has convinced me that the common people of this country possess an amazing degree of intelligence and common sense.

It would be impossible to have this first-hand knowledge of the opinions of the great mass of people of our country and not become an evangelist of democracy.

The American people are willing to make sacrifices for their country during this period of emergency. In fact, they are willing to make far greater sacrifices than they have as yet been called upon to make for defense. Nor is this willingness to work in the service of the country confined to periods of emergency. The people are equally willing to work for their community and their country in times of peace.

Two years ago the Institute's staff of interviewers asked a representative cross-section of people throughout the land if they would be willing to serve, without pay, on a committee made up of private citizens to investigate

such problems as unemployment, relief, and housing in their own communities. The results of this study indicated that two out of every three citizens in the United States would be willing to serve, without pay, on such committees.

This was the response of the "man in the street." What about the successful people of the country—the leading lawyers, engineers, educators, scientists, business people, or industrialists? In a special study, also nationwide in scope, we found that approximately seven out of every ten leading men of the nation would gladly take time from their busy pursuits to serve their own communities.

But how can it be that we have such poor local government in so many places if there are so many persons willing to work in the community interest? Certainly one of the most important reasons is the political and partisan approach which we now make to virtually all problems. Back of this lies the undeniable fact that we have displayed none of the inventiveness in the field of political science that we have in other fields.

Our development of political procedures stopped when the political ambitions of Andrew Jackson and the selfish interests of his advisers were satisfied some one hundred years ago.

Perhaps we shouldn't criticize Jackson too harshly for burdening

the country with the spoils system and a conception of politics based almost entirely on self-interest; for out of this political plundering came the two-party system which has served the country well from Jackson's time until today.

It will be recalled that Washington hoped there would be no political parties. But it soon became obvious that the system—or lack of system—which prevailed between the time of Washington and the time of Jackson didn't fill the needs of our democracy. Today we have a good chance to see why.

Germany, Italy, and Russia have only one party. Certainly no one would accuse any of these countries of being democratic in any respect. On the other hand, a great number of parties or factions do not make a strong democracy. Government by a dozen factions was tried in France and was responsible in no small part for her downfall.

But in our own case, having found that the two-party system worked best, we have weakly accepted the theory that the two-party system can be kept strong and vital only by party machines maintained by political despoilers. In short, we have assumed that the only people interested enough to take an active part in party politics are the people who expect to get a job or to receive some other personal gain.

There is ample evidence that our national two-party system can be kept strong and vital without recourse to the political pay-off. Any one who will devote a few hours of his time to talking with his fellow-

men will discover that people today take the problems of government and voting seriously. We have reached the point where ideas and opposing political philosophies form the basis of our two-party system. The day of the back-slapping, baby-kissing, cigar-dispensing politician—at least in national affairs—has gone the way of the torchlight parade.

Civil Service Improved

In recent years we have dealt some heavy blows to corrupt machine politics. The Hatch Act represents one of the great landmarks in the improvement of government in the United States. But we need to extend its scope—to apply the principles of this act to state and local governments.

Year by year the merit system laws are extended to include more jobholders. Eventually the time will come when every one who is not an elected officer in a policy-making position will be free forevermore of the spoils system. Most important of all is the cheering evidence that the public itself is getting out of control of the old-time machine politician.

In New York City some weeks ago a majority of Democrats, against the tearful pleas of political bosses, jumped the political fence to vote for La Guardia, the Republican and Labor nominee. On the other hand a majority of Republicans jumped to the other side to vote for O'Dwyer, the Democratic candidate.

From the national election a year ago comes even better evidence of the decline of the political machine in the states north of the Mason-

Dixon Line. At that time some Republican leaders boasted about the effectiveness of their state machines in certain of these northern states. I was told by some of the Democratic leaders what they expected to do with their well oiled machines in other states. But when the votes in the presidential election were counted, an amazing fact came to light—the votes for Mr. Roosevelt were no greater in these states with reputedly strong Democratic machines than in the states where the machine was supposed to be very weak. And the same was true of Willkie. Why? For the simple reason that people were voting their convictions. They weren't voting for either candidate merely because some political ward heeler slapped them on the back and gave them a five-cent cigar.

In this election state lines vanished into thin air. You could travel all the way from New Hampshire to North Dakota or to Missouri and not find the Roosevelt vote more than four or five votes different in every hundred in any one of these states.

Not since the Civil War and modern political alignments has the country reacted so completely to ideas, and so little to machine efforts. Even the traditional center of Republicanism shifted all the way from Vermont to South Dakota. The two-party system was working its best. The system of political bribery was working its worst.

While opposing political philosophies are beginning largely to form the basis of our national politics today, local communities throughout the country in far too many cases

are still machine-dominated and boss-ridden.

The whole conception of party alignments in the local community contrasts sharply with that of the national government. It is difficult to see how questions of ideology of political philosophy can be very important in local government, since the chief concern here is the question of the efficient management of the affairs of the community. The course of events which is changing the character of the national party organizations will have little effect in weakening the hold of local machines. The Mayor Hagues can still resist the tide of events.

'Split' Your Ticket

In addition to working for the extension of the Hatch Act and merit system laws I have three suggestions which, I believe, would help improve local and state government.

The boss of every political machine loves the people who pride themselves on their party "regularity" and who always vote a straight ticket. This permits the machines to load the ticket with all kinds of political hacks and stooges, and too often to assure their election. It is only when voters jump the fence, fail to vote a straight ticket, that it becomes important for the machine to put up better men—the kind the machine is less able to control.

When a person tells me that he always votes for the same party I feel genuinely sorry for him. This statement reveals the same lack of political sagacity as that of the man who once said that all his life he had voted for the best man, but he had

never yet found an instance when the best man was not a Republican. It reveals the same narrow prejudice as that of the man in Texas, who told one of our interviewers that he had voted for a Republican only once in his life: that was when he was serving on a jury and he voted to hang the defendant—a Republican.

My first suggestion then is to make a habit of splitting your ticket. And never pride yourself on your party regularity. More often than not it is a sign that you have never really thought about the problems of government.

I've often thought of the great harm that is done the efficient management of local communities throughout the nation by the mere accident of having the same names for local political parties that we have for our national parties.

Let's Have Local Parties

The Republican party of Blawenburg, New Jersey, has about as much in common with the national Republican party as the Swaraj party of India. And what remote connection there is works inevitably to the harm of good government in the local community. Many otherwise intelligent citizens have voted out of office a hard working, efficient local office holder merely to show their disgust at what is going on in Washington. This reveals a sadistic impulse that isn't good for the political well-being of the nation.

How can we possibly hope to cope with this problem unless we take steps whenever and wherever possible to change the name of local political parties from Republican and Demo-

cratic to such names as Independent, Fusion, City Manager, and the like? Only in this way can we make voters concentrate on the problems at hand and get out of their minds that when they vote for a candidate for local office they are helping or hurting the national administration in Washington. This is my second suggestion.

My third suggestion, I believe, would also contribute to the efficiency of state and local government. It is a demonstrable fact that, if state and national elections were held in years, or at times, which did not coincide with elections for national office, people would vote more thoughtfully on local and state candidates.

To be specific: polls taken in a number of states during the last presidential campaign showed wide variance between the public's choice of the state party as opposed to the national party. In some instances had state elections been held a week before the national election, the state would have been carried by the party which lost the election on the regular election day.

There are always a few people in every hundred, and that is often all it takes, who are either so lazy or so blinded by the spotlight which plays upon national politics as to let their feelings about presidential candidates influence their choices all the way down the line. This is not always true, of course, and there are many heartening instances when a state has voted for the candidate of one party for president, and the candidate of the opposing party for governor. But all too often does the fate of the local and state ticket depend upon the national ticket.

I should like to suggest what seems to me to be a practical procedure.

First of all we must call upon the best equipped men in every community in America to devote their time to the study and solution of our community problems. And, second, we must take far greater advantage of the experiments which are going on throughout the land—in a thousand different communities—to solve these same problems.

As indicated earlier, at least two out of every three of the outstanding persons in every community in America are willing to devote time each week without pay to the solution of local problems. Our task, then, is to devise ways to put these public-spirited people to work in the public interest.

Eliminate Partisanship

If we are to accomplish this end, we must begin to look at local problems, and national ones for that matter, in a completely nonpartisan way. We cannot ask people who want to lend their services to the city or nation, "What are your politics?" The time has come when there should be general recognition of the fact that the health and welfare of our people are matters with which every good citizen is properly concerned. For this reason these matters should be completely divorced from politics. This same point of view should prevail in national affairs as well as in local affairs.

We have just come through the greatest depression in the history of this country.

What did we do to solve it? So far as I know, the government of the

United States made no serious effort to call upon those people best fitted by training and experience to solve this all-important problem. Why? Because of the fear of political repercussions. Because of the fear that these people might possibly bring in a solution at variance with the views of the administration.

We can all thank God that this same narrow, partisan view does not obtain in the matter of defense. Although professional Republicans and Democrats railed at the selection of Knox and Stimson, and professional New Dealers criticized the selection of Knudsen, the country itself applauded.

In putting to work the best minds of America on the problems of today and the problems of tomorrow we simply can't let the first test be: "What are your politics?"

Nor can we ask the outstanding people of America to devote their time and energies to any except the most important problems. They must be put to work at important jobs: what to do about unemployment, relief, crime, taxation, housing, labor relations, public health, and the whole question of efficiency in local government.

In many cities throughout the country one will find citizens' groups at work today on the special problems of these communities. This movement must be encouraged and raised to the highest level of public esteem. Specifically:

1. We must see that this movement expands to every community in America where any of these major problems exist.

2. We must give these citizens' groups quasi-official standing.

3. We must see to it that serving on such committees is one of the highest honors in the community.

4. We must see to it that the findings of these groups are fully reported and brought to the attention of everyone in the community.

5. We must see to it that clerical, reporting, and other minor costs are borne out of taxation; or perhaps I should say out of the savings in taxes.

6. We must see to it that these groups are given the fullest possible coöperation from local and state officeholders, and that, in those cities where opposition is encountered, the citizens take matters into their own hands as they have in so many cities with such good and lasting results.

7. We must see to it that some measure of national recognition be given the individuals and groups who make the greatest contribution. We must establish our own Nobel awards for constructive citizenship.

Publicize Local Experiments

In addition to calling on our best equipped citizens, we can improve the quality of government in America by taking full advantage of the hundreds of experiments which are going on in every state. Nowhere in the world is there such a marvelous opportunity to profit by experiments and experience as right here in the United States. Our thousands of local communities have their problems of relief, unemployment, housing, public health, and labor relations which are, in smaller measure, almost exact counterparts of the problems which the nation itself faces.

We have never learned to appreciate the value of these local experiments. The government in Washington has so completely and thoroughly dominated our thinking in recent years that we have been schooled to look there for a solution of all our ills rather than to profit by the experience of local governments which have handled these same problems with various degrees of success.

But it is not enough to experiment. It is equally important to make these experiments known. And as yet we have not developed fully or adequately the machinery for distributing information about these successful experiments in local government.

We have only to look at other fields to realize the inadequacy of our present machinery. If a doctor or a hospital in Maine finds a successful way to treat a disease, it is only a matter of a few days or weeks until doctors in California know about it. But let a local community in Maine, California, Florida, or any other state find a successful way of handling relief, unemployment, crime, local finances, or any other major problem and it may be years before the cities in the next state have heard about it.

For example: A distinguished fellow citizen of mine in Princeton, New Jersey, Mr. Gerard B. Lambert, has devoted a large part of his time in recent years to the problems of finding how to provide the best housing for low income families. In the course of this search he has discovered a way by which housing projects can be financed successfully by private capital—not government funds—for as little as \$6.25 per room per month, while it is generally con-

ceded that private capital has not been able to build to rent for less than ten dollars per room per month.

Think what this means to the family which can't afford to pay over thirty dollars a month for rent; but who can have, through the operation of this plan, a home which would probably rent today for nearly fifty dollars! Think what this means to taxpayers who would like to see low income families have the best housing, but who dislike the idea of government subsidies!

The plan is not in the blueprint stage; it has actually been in successful operation for three years in Princeton, New Jersey.

But how many people interested in housing anywhere in the country are familiar with this plan? My guess is very few. This is but one of hundreds of successful experiments.

We must develop our machinery for distributing information; we must devise ways by which these successful experiments can be known throughout the country.

In this job of distributing ideas, I wish to give full recognition to this organization, the National Municipal League. For fifty years it has carried on a job which probably should have been carried on all during this period by a full-fledged United States Department of Municipal Affairs.

Almost every important advancement in municipal government during these fifty years has been sponsored by this organization, and the taxpayers have probably benefited a

thousandfold for every dollar which has been given to this organization by private individuals, to carry on its work of research and enlightenment. When one realizes that in normal times local and state governments collect from the citizens in taxes nearly twice as much money as the national government, some conception of the importance of the job to be done can be realized.

Greater Effort Needed

But successful as it has been, the task is one which must be expanded manyfold. Either private citizens must support this work on a far greater scale, or the government itself must become far more active in distributing the information which comes from the hundreds of experiments going on at all times in the country, in the handling of these vital local problems.

I have little patience with my fellow-Americans who express doubt about the future of democracy in this country. I fully realize our weaknesses, our halting and halfway measures to cope with the problems which have burdened us for the last decade. I know that after this war problems of unemployment, of reconstruction, and of world peace will impose new and greater burdens. But still I refuse to be the least bit discouraged because I know that in dealing with such problems we have never yet brought to bear our greatest force—our greatest untapped resource—the brains of our people.

Home Towns Organize for Defense

"Only realistic planning will secure public enthusiasm behind it and develop the kind of contribution to defense that is not yet coming from our municipalities as a whole."

By CHARLES P. TAFT

Assistant Director, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

THE MOST important job facing our municipal governments today is community organization for defense. Civilian protection, such as air raid precautions and evacuation, is about one tenth of that job. Volunteer service bureaus are an essential element in community organization, but they are service bureaus, not operating agencies. They presuppose intelligent and integrated programs of professionals in industrial production, waste elimination, labor supply training, nutrition, health, welfare, recreation, and morale building. No pattern has been given to cities for such community organization and very few cities of the thousands with defense councils have worked it out for themselves.

The plain fact is that in most of our big towns the progress in organizing these necessary home front defenses has been slow—too slow. Communities were eager to secure defense industries. They saw these activities as a welcome spur to local business. This is all right, provided the community also recognizes the human responsibilities which such expansion brings with it.

One can't toss this responsibility off by saying that defense workers get good wages and can pay their own way. There are things and services which defense workers, like all other citizens, need and have a right to—

and for which they can't pay, even if they have the money. They can't buy public health protection if the community does not have adequate organization and facilities to serve its own public health interests. They can't buy hospital care and home nursing if the community does not have enough hospital beds and experienced nurses to go round. They can't buy outdoor recreation in parks and playgrounds, or participation in athletics and in worthwhile hobbies, if the means are lacking. They can't even buy commercial recreation, like going to the movies, if the town hasn't kept up with the mushroom growth resulting from defense.

When it comes to family security, the evidence is piling up that we have grave gaps in the community protections upon which all of us must rely. Communities are not taking into account the increases in marriages—or the increases in the number of illegitimate children. They are not providing the kind of positive social protection which safeguards soldiers, industrial workers, and other men and women, not only against venereal disease, but against the lax and vicious conditions which permit this plague to get a hold upon the community.

Other hazards to family security lie in the fact that mothers—and even children—are being employed in

industry; that housing is totally inadequate and many families are being compelled to double up in a way that threatens both health and wholesome social and family relationships; and finally, that the rehabilitation of the handicapped and the relief of the unemployable are being submerged beneath more clamorous, but not necessarily more urgent, problems.

It Can Be Done

These are complex problems—no one denies that. But they *can* be met. Communities *can* work out an effective and coördinated attack upon them. The best pattern is probably that developed by the Safety Committee of Massachusetts. This pattern calls for four major divisions in both state and local defense organization.

The first is industrial production, which involves, primarily, in these days, the army and navy ordnance officers and OPM. Priorities and sub-contracts may make or break a community, and labor supply and defense training are of the essence of the defense effort.

For all cities, but especially those on the coasts, plans for civilian protection are essential too. That is the second division of activity in community organization and should be led by the principal public officials of the area, closest to police, fire, and public works divisions.

The third essential of a community defense program lies at the heart of industrial and civilian morale. It includes the housing of workers, and all the health and welfare services. Not only the families of soldiers, but those of defense workers, need the protection of sound public health

measures, of adequate play space and recreation opportunities, of schooling and cultural activities for themselves and their children, and welfare services when the town is hit by priorities unemployment, transient difficulties, or similar situations.

You can't call these frills. I suppose protection of water supply was a frill until polluted wells were tied up to the colon bacillus and typhoid. Recreation and play space are a frill until Pop, on the night shift, can't sleep because the kids have to play in the street under his window.

Yes, defense workers are many of them well paid. But many are not, and the pay does those who have it little good if there is nothing in the decent entertainment line to buy for any money. It takes community stimulus to get the facilities built which may well be self-supporting when they are available.

The fourth division of community organization is the service bureaus—volunteer services first, and public relations second.

Executive Council

That includes then, four or five major committees under division one, industrial production; two or three under civilian protection; seven or more under the health and welfare services; and two under the service bureaus. From that group of chairmen of committees should come the executive committee of the defense council.

With such a flexible form of organization and a good live wire coördinator or executive secretary for the industrial and business functions, and

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Cities to the Fore in Wartime England

"The London County Council has now become the guardian, the adviser, the nurse, the helper, of enormous sections of the population of London which hitherto had nothing to do with the Council."

By A. EMIL DAVIES

Former Chairman, London County Council

MANY Americans are discussing means and methods of civilian defense. Until now I doubt that, in their heart of hearts, they ever believed they might actually have to tackle anything like what we have had in London.

I am not so remote from actualities as to believe you are going to suffer anything vaguely like London where a German plane can get over in about half an hour. It is quite within the realm of probability, however, that you will have nuisance attacks from France. The chances of survival of an enemy plane coming to New York and returning are slight and the aviator would be running a tremendous risk.

Judging by our experience, however, a man can fly over, drop his bombs, then for another two or three minutes fly to an open space, bail out, and become a prisoner of war. True, he sacrifices his plane, but it is well worth nuisance value, and if I were Hitler I would be prepared to sacrifice one or two planes every day or every week for such a purpose. Until you are used to it, one plane can cause as much damage as a hundred, dislocating industry and services to the same extent that a hundred would. So I don't put it past the

Germans to indulge in one or two nuisance raids on New York. I hope you will be prepared for it.

War makes the population of the city and the government—that is, the federal government, since we Britishers do not have the complication of state government—aware of the importance of city administration. No federal government has the additional staff available to take care of the citizens in the new jobs that arise. It simply has to use the existing municipal administration which in turn has to expand enormously.

Our fire department, which consisted originally of three thousand men, had to be expanded to thirty thousand. Our ambulance service of four hundred men had to be expanded to ten thousand men and women. We had to start new services such as a demolition service and a rescue service to put up scaffolding quickly, go into buildings that were falling down and brace them up in order to rescue people who were still alive, and even help the wardens to get out bombs.

Since nine months elapsed during which these people trained and nothing happened in London, the public became a little bit skeptical and made jokes at their expense. Of course, since you can't drill fourteen

hours a day, it was a job to keep them occupied. This gave rise to remarks about their proper efficiency in billiards and other like undertakings. But, when the blitz arrived, these men and women proved to be in the first line. It was they who were killed and not our soldiers. Many still lose their lives because it is a hazardous job.

Evacuation

Ninety per cent of the work cast upon municipal administrations is based upon the assumption that cities are going to be attacked, that the townspeople are going to suffer. Therefore, about 80 per cent of our work—preparation and execution—was ultimately connected with evacuation, which is a tremendous job.

The first thing we did was to send 400,000 of our children of school age into different districts of the country. That meant work not only for our municipality but for the receiving municipalities.

We divided the country into three classifications: an evacuation area such as New York would be, neutral areas which neither evacuated nor received children (we have now abolished them since there are no neutral areas in modern war), and reception areas in which it is considered safe to disperse the child population. On the whole, the evacuation of school children has been a success, an illustration of how war brings out the best as well as the worst in humanity.

Mindful of our citizens of the future, we gave our first thought to the school children and expectant mothers. Placed either in properly organized maternity homes or in a large number of country houses which

the reception municipalities commandeered, and receiving good fresh milk and food in pleasant surroundings, these women and their children have benefited very largely.

We found it desirable also to take the old people out because of a housing shortage due to bombings. This has taught us, incidentally, to do away with institutions for old people. They are much happier in large country houses with about fifty of them on the same premises.

One section of the community did not respond to our evacuation efforts. This was the group of young married women. Before we thought of using women for the factories and the army, we decided to evacuate from London all persons not working or not essential. Some thousands of housewives left but most returned pretty soon—and their neighbors refused to go. We were puzzled. At last we found the solution in the words of one woman who said, "Well you see, sir, I could trust another woman to look after my children but I couldn't trust another woman to look after my husband, and I ain't damn well going to give her the chance." So that part of the evacuation has been abandoned.

Evacuation gives rise to the new municipal position of billeting officers in reception areas. This is an unenviable but necessary job which requires the granting of considerable powers and the establishment of tribunals to settle difficult cases.

Air Raid Preparations

There are many preparations to make to cope with the possibility of an air raid on a city. In the first place, an alarm and blackout system

is, of course, vitally necessary. Then, there are rest centers for the thousands of people who are rendered homeless, not to mention the need for air raid shelters for people whose homes are intact. The original intention was to provide them with warm food and accommodations for a few hours until they could be billeted.

We were prepared for thousands of people being killed in every raid and a certain amount of property being destroyed. What has happened is that many fewer people have been killed than the numbers for which we planned. Fortunately, we have had to use no more than 10 per cent of the thousands of hospital and burial accommodations we had secretly prepared, but we have had more than five times as much property destruction as we anticipated.

We did not foresee the complications caused by unexploded bombs. The bomb falls but doesn't go off. It may be a dud, it may never explode, it may explode in ten minutes, an hour, a week later, or even longer than that. The police and the wardens rush up to every house in the vicinity of an unexploded bomb, drag the people out at once, warn them to go to a place of safety because such a bomb may wreck houses half a mile away. Thousands of people must be accommodated for an indefinite period. The street is barricaded and a notice "Unexploded Bomb" put up. A policeman regent prevents people from going back into their apartments.

People who have to rush hurriedly out of their houses are likely to forget two things—their artificial teeth

and their spectacles. One of the unexpected jobs put upon the municipality, therefore, is to help those poor people to be able to eat and above all to be able to see. We now have our own municipal factory for making dentures—just one instance to show that when war comes all sorts of unexpected things occur for which it is impossible to provide until they actually happen.

When thousands of people go to rest centers, they are miserable, unhappy; you must keep them occupied at once. You must have the rest center cheerful with flowers, a radio, and music. We have actually organized parties to go and visit them and bring toys for the children.

If you want to cheer up those people, above all do have a desk there marked "Information." They want to know all sorts of things. A working man in his pajamas who has got to start work tomorrow morning at the docks wants to know "Where can I get some clothes?" Somebody else says, "I can live with my mother or my sister-in-law, but we must have certain things. Can you move those things from my house although there is an unexploded bomb there?" Or somebody else hasn't got a dollar, and you must have means to advance money just to buy some necessities such as clothes for children.

Still another problem arose from delayed action bombs. We reckoned we would have to feed a certain number of people whose houses were destroyed until such time as we could get them other accommodations. A bombing on a city may destroy the utilities for quite a large area. No water, no gas, no electricity may

mean that thousands of houses which are not in the least damaged have no cooking facilities. So the London County Council organized feeding centers which were so successful that the food controller asked every municipality in the country to establish them. Charged merely at cost, householders came and carried away food in basins so they could have hot meals at home.

There emerged another need due to the fact that thousands of men whose wives had gone away with the children were not able to go either to their homes for their usual dinners, or to the eating houses which they used to frequent because they were destroyed. We therefore altered these feeding centers, which were placed in schools and homes, by installing seating accommodations. Fifty per cent of the meals are now served to people who eat on the spot. It is generally agreed that communal feeding is one of the good things developed in this war, and it will be retained afterward because its scientific efficiency will be necessary in an impoverished post-war Britain. Ultimately these establishments will become self-supporting.

Since there is not time in a war emergency to call a meeting, we have an overriding action which enables the minister of the government to override all existing laws. This device is called "Order in Council." On the plea of national emergency, this measure has been used on various occasions. It is a highly advisable procedure.

The English government does not have staff enough to carry out all the duties now imposed, so city inspectors were requisitioned to investigate cases

of wasted food. The government also required our inspectors to discover contravention of price control orders and to examine the top floors of buildings for combustible material as a precaution against the tens of thousands of incendiary bombs which up to now have caused most damage. We also had to use our inspectors to enforce the ten o'clock curfew law for aliens which excludes them from prohibited areas and denies them the right to possess motor cars, bicycles, or motorcycles.

House Repair

There are many other duties thrust upon the municipality. In addition to ordinary services, as well as those previously mentioned—the meals, evacuation, rehousing, and billeting—the municipality must repair damage to houses if possible with speedy, temporary repairs because of pressing housing needs. The municipality removes furniture from bombed homes for the many people who are willing to move to the country, and advances some money or pays for the moving entirely.

The city also finds it necessary to provide storage facilities for salvaged goods consisting largely of articles of sentimental value. It labels them and enables the people sooner or later to regain their possessions. After each raid the city hall has to keep an index of many thousand changes of address both of private individuals and business concerns.

We have always had a good opinion of our staff, but especially so in this emergency, when we have had to expand it enormously. Most people like the chance of being able to do

things on their own initiative. Regardless of rules and regulations, you will find employees must cut through red tape to do their jobs efficiently. Our employees were given unlimited responsibility, but they used their discretion and rose to the occasion admirably. Further, since one million and a half of our people have been evacuated, we have had to send out 15,000 officials, teachers, school inspectors, social workers, doctors, to follow and become the advisers and counsellors of the population.

We found another pleasing thing. Like you in this country, we have both public ownership and private enterprise, especially in the utilities. They compete and have not always loved one another. The bomb that falls does not discriminate between the publicly-owned water main and the one privately owned. So, under the direction of the city engineer, we have pooled the operative staffs of all public utilities and he directs them as a general directs an army regardless of whether they belong to a corporation or to the municipality. When a bomb raid destroys water and gas mains for a great area, we telegraph other cities and they send plumbers.

In wartime you can no longer stick to your city or even your state. You have to mobilize all your forces and pool resources.

Air raids have brought a basic change the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. In the past the public regarded the city administration as a necessary evil. It is a maker of laws, it has inspectors, it is interfering, and it collects taxes—never a popular service. Because of present conditions, however, the London County Council has now become the guardian, the adviser, the nurse, the helper, of enormous sections of the population of London which hitherto had nothing to do with the Council. A tremendous section of the London population is now regarding the London County Council with affection, realizing that it is a helper and that it has become human.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is included in the convention issue of the REVIEW since Mr. Davies was scheduled to address the National Municipal League's Conference on Government at St. Louis along similar lines, but because of war conditions was unable to reach this country in time. It is based on an informal talk given by Mr. Davies before the Arkwright Club of New York City on December 8, 1941.

Contributors in Review

AS CHAIRMAN of the London County Council during the worst of the London air raids, **A. Emil Davies** (*Cities to the Fore in Wartime England*) led in the development of methods and services to cope with the almost daily disasters which overtook the civilian population. Member of the Council since 1919, Mr. Davies has also written and lectured extensively, chiefly on transportation problems. He came to the United States in late November at the invitation of the National Municipal League and others for a short speaking tour.

FREQUENTLY drafted as the man of the hour, **C. A. Dykstra** (*Call to Action*) participated in the National Municipal League's forty-seventh National Conference on Government as immediate past president, substituting for President Winant. Successful teacher and administrator, Mr. Dykstra gained wide fame as city manager of Cincinnati during the disastrous flood of some years ago. Since the beginning of the nation's defense program, he has twice been called to Washington from the president's chair of the University of Wisconsin—first as director of the selective service and again to become chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board.

BEFORE there was such unity of thought as there is today, the country depended pretty largely on **Dr. George H. Gallup** (*Drafting the Nation's Brain Power*) to learn what it was thinking. Founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and of the British Institute of Public Opinion, Dr. Gallup is a member of the League's Council and its executive and steering committees.

LAWYER and civic leader who has contributed years of service and inspiration to his own community in its fight for good government, **Charles P. Taft** (*Home Towns Organize for Defense*) has long been identified with the National Municipal League and is well known to readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. In addition to serving now in Washington as assistant coördinator of all health, nutrition, and recreation activities affecting the conduct of the war, he retains membership in the Cincinnati City Council.

PRESIDENT of the National Municipal League, **John G. Winant** (*Hope of Millions Rests with U. S.*) took time from his important duties as Ambassador to Britain to address the League's national conference at St. Louis by radio. A man who has devoted his life to unselfish public service, he needs no introduction to the people of this or any other country, and his longtime prominence in the counsels of the League make him familiar to REVIEW readers.

On the Local Front

An urgent appeal to the states for cooperation in the war efforts; setup for defense health and welfare services; communities mobilizing their recreational facilities for soldiers and sailors.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

STRESSING the wartime importance of community health and welfare services, Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt wrote to the governors of the 48 states on December 8, immediately following the declaration of war. Administrator McNutt's letter follows:

"As Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services, I urge you to make immediate preparations to care for those civilians whose well-being may be jeopardized by enemy action.

"The prevention and relief of suffering growing out of wartime disaster is a function of government. Regular state agencies operating health, welfare, and educational programs have already been making plans for necessary defense expansion in collaboration with state defense councils, the Office of Civilian Defense, and this Office. Federal agencies are agreed that the needs growing out of war should be met through extension of peacetime services, rather than through the establishment of new agencies and new facilities.

"In each municipality and county in your state public authorities are already operating peacetime health, welfare, and educational programs which properly form the nucleus of wartime activities. Many communities, possibly the communities in your state, should not only plan for the extension of their present services but should also prepare to provide whatever additional services may

be necessary in case of attack or sabotage from without or within.

"The wartime social services that should now be developed include those for the care of persons who may be rendered homeless or needy through belligerent action. Provisions must be made for the shelter and feeding of such people, possibly in large numbers. Those communities which are already operating municipal lodging houses and municipal restaurants should plan to expand those facilities as necessary. Communities with home registration bureaus should consider what additional facilities may be necessary in case large numbers of people become homeless. Communities where there is as yet no framework for emergency housing and food distribution should establish a basis for such action as may be needed.

"Persons rendered homeless may need immediate cash assistance to permit them to purchase necessary food, clothing, and equipment so that they may continue as nearly as possible in their regular pursuits. People whose work relationships are disrupted, and families of wage earners who are injured, are also likely to need cash aid. Many states and localities do not have an adequate system of cash assistance; federal aid is not available without statutory enactment. Pending necessary legislative action, however, I trust you will ask the appropriate state and local officials to canvass the situation

against the time of such need.

"The United States Public Health Service is in contact with health authorities and is prepared to advise them on the supplementation of regular peacetime services. The Office of Civilian Defense is also working with state and local health departments to establish such health services as may be necessary in wartime.

"State and local authorities will find well organized voluntary services already available to them in most communities; individual volunteers will also be available in every community to help the constituted public agencies carry out emergency responsibilities. Such volunteer services should have a place in your public planning.

"I know that you and the agencies under you—and all appropriate municipal and county authorities associated with you—appreciate your own basic obligation to provide wartime services as a part of our concerted national effort. There is imperative need for immediate, detailed planning and organizing on the part of duly constituted government authorities; I stress this necessity with all the urgency at my command. At the same time I would point out that every effort should be made to prevent misguided zeal or hysterical activity. The emergency planning and organization which I now urge you to mature will be the most effective safeguard of community defense for your people and your state."

Nationwide Framework of Community Defense

The Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services represents the federal government's concern, as part of the national defense, in six major fields of community service—nutrition, education, recreation, public health, family security and child care, and social protection against conditions leading to

prostitution and the spread of venereal disease. Of Administrator McNutt's two assistant directors, M. L. Wilson is responsible for the national nutrition program, and Charles P. Taft supervises activities in the other fields covered by this Office.

In organizing and maintaining a national framework of action, the Office works along two main lines—coördination of federal activities in these fields, and coöperation with the states and through them with their local communities. Through its twelve regional offices it keeps in close touch with state and local agencies, including state and local defense councils, and stands ready to give them all possible assistance.

The intensive community activities, now developing on a wartime basis in many parts of the country, represent a stepping-up of the programs developed through federal, state, and local co-operation during the past year.

Community Hospitality for Men in Uniform

"Now that the nation is at war," says Mark McCloskey, director of the Recreation Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, "people need more, rather than less, opportunity for relaxation and recreation. Letting all work and no play make Jack a dull boy is short-sighted any time, and inexcusable now. This applies particularly to the men in our armed forces. They are up against the hardest job of their lives. One way for civilians to help in that job is to see that their town offers soldiers and sailors the friendly open-door hospitality they want and need."

By and large, the nation is doing an increasingly good job of community recreation, according to Mr. McCloskey. Service men's centers, which the federal government is providing in defense areas, will soon be going full swing. Of

the 240-odd buildings under construction this fall, about half were finished by the end of the year and nearly all the remainder are scheduled for completion in January. In some cases the community itself is operating these service men's clubs; in hard pressed towns where this is impossible, the United Service Organizations operate the federal buildings under an agreement with the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

Meantime towns and cities have gone ahead with this job of community recreation. As the holidays approached, Christmas trees, decorated not only with the traditional tinsel but also with packages of candy, cigarettes, and other modest luxuries, appeared in service men's clubs in the camp towns scattered from coast to coast. It is too soon to tell the whole story of holiday hospitality to men in uniform; but with Christmas leave curtailed, it was doubly important—and the towns responded.

This was not a sudden and passing accent of Christmas sentiment. Entertaining the soldiers is a regular activity by now, with months of experience behind it. The following are typical of the wide variety of activities being carried on all over the country:

King City, California: This town is a fine example of local community interest and coöperation. The federal government has a Service Club here, but sidewalks were needed in front of it. The town provided the concrete and members of the local union laid the sidewalks for the building. A fine outdoor Christmas tree was donated by an individual and transplanted by the people of the town under the supervision of a local landscape artist. A farmer brought his farm equipment in and rough-graded the ground. The town plans a community day to landscape the shrubbery, donated by the Southern Pacific Railroad. The high school band will provide music for the dedication.

Jeffersonville, Indiana: On the night of the community Christmas party, every light in the business district was blacked out for a few moments. At 7.30 the street lights, the illuminated Christmas decorations, and the displays of business buildings were turned on simultaneously. An American Legion parade was then turning into the main street and immediately after it passed, Santa Claus took command. The center of interest was a traditional Christmas crèche which was visited by some six thousand people—a third of the town's population—before midnight. On the night of the party, and throughout the week, there was carol singing led by various civic clubs. A public address system was connected to a church organ and volunteer organists supplied continuous music.

Wichita Falls, Texas: The music committee of the Recreation Council staged a musical extravaganza in the city auditorium on December 19. On Christmas day, under the sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce, open house with entertainment, music, and refreshments was held at the USO Club, the Boys' Club, and two of the city's hotels.

New York City: The New York City Defense Recreation Committee gave a Christmas party and dance at the 71st Regiment Armory on December 27. The guests included five thousand service men and three thousand young women to serve as hostesses and dance partners. Local 802 of the Musicians' Union supplied several name bands who played for the dancing from eight o'clock until one. Various public organizations and community groups provided refreshments, decorations, and gifts for every man. Through the interest of Samuel Goldwyn, well known stage and screen stars attended the party and put on a special entertainment.

A few weeks earlier The Associated Musicians of Greater New York, Local 802, and eleven coöperating unions, gave

a similar dance, under the sponsorship of the New York City Defense Recreation Committee. The cooperating unions furnished, among other things, 1,250 pounds of assorted cold cuts, 300 pounds of assorted cheeses, 1,400 loaves of bread, 17,000 bottles of assorted soft drinks, and 5,000 assorted pastries. One hundred waiters and one hundred counter men volunteered their services to dispense this mountainous pile of food and drinks.

Chester, Pennsylvania: Since the declaration of war and the movement of two thousand colored troops into the city of Chester, a school building has been thrown open for the use of colored service men, which meets the need admirably. A committee has been organized in the colored section of the city and a hostess has been employed. Games and recreational equipment are being collected around the county. This center, which includes a much needed gymnasium, is the result of the efforts of the Recreation Committee of the Defense Council and private agencies. The Federal Security Agency representative reports: ". . . the project is going to serve not only its primary purpose, but will also demonstrate what a community can do for recreation with existing facilities and at very little cost."

Wilmington, North Carolina: Although the town of Wilmington has a full-time program of hospitality for the men from Camp Davis and Camp Gibbons, they were called upon to expand their activities to include approximately two thousand men passing through on maneuvers. Five open dances were held. Showers were available in eight different centers. This extended hospitality had just gotten under way when the Naval Training Ship, *Empire State*, dropped anchor off Wilmington, and two

hundred sailors were added to the community. By that time the Defense Recreation Committee decided that a few hundred more or less made very little difference. Everyone had a fine time.

During the maneuvers motion picture houses in North and South Carolina were open on Sundays for the first time in the "memory of man"—at reduced prices, not during church hours, and as an emergency measure which they expect to terminate with the close of maneuvers.

Fort Custer, Michigan: When a hurry call for a poster painter to publicize a dance drew a hundred applicants among the service men at Fort Custer, Michigan, the result was the organization of an art project for leisure time. A WPA arts and crafts instructor was put in charge and the fort held an art show. Eighteen of the men were professional artists in civilian life. During the army maneuvers in Tennessee twenty of these men took field paint boxes and sketched the troops in action. They brought back a sheaf of true-to-life pictures of America's 1941 army.

Jacksonville, Florida: A Negro center has been established on the grounds of an old Negro schoolhouse. Here a group of 70 colored volunteers furnish entertainment for the soldiers. In addition to providing partners for dances and games, they have worked up a repertoire of plays, musical numbers, and stunts, which they perform at the center and in the service center at Camp Blanding.

Fort Huachuca, Arizona: A special train, arranged for by the local defense recreation committee, took 178 Negro soldiers from Fort Huachuca, most of them Ohio boys, to the USC-Ohio State football game in Los Angeles, California.

The Researcher's Digest: January

Purchasing in the Los Angeles area; forms of government for New Orleans; Detroit considers group representation in its council; governmental odyssey of a Michigan county.

THE last batch of governmental research reports deals with purchasing, forms of city government, group representation in council, effect of urbanization upon government. Because this may be the last peace-preoccupied collection for a long time, these homely, familiar subjects take on a wistful, almost archaic appeal. In the spirit of the antiquarian, then—what were the research bureaus thinking about way back in October and November 1941?

A monumental 186-page volume is the contribution of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** to the subject of *Governmental Purchasing in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area*.¹ Parts I and II, based upon questionnaires and field visits, summarize purchasing practice of a majority of the agencies of local government in the Los Angeles region. Included were the county of Los Angeles, all the charter cities, a representative sampling of sixth-class municipalities, the Los Angeles City School Districts, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts.

Among the major governmental agencies the authors found centralization of purchasing a general practice, with minor differences in the degree of centralization and in the techniques used. Inspection and testing were discovered to be the weakest links in the process. But among the twenty-four smaller cities studied, the authors had to descend to the simpler fundamentals of purchasing procedure, for almost

half the municipalities had no centralized purchasing at all, and even among the jurisdictions which had made a pretense at it, there were serious flaws in personnel, in record-keeping, in standardization of specifications, in advance budgeting of needs, and in the other essentials of proper purchasing practice. Even so, the cities with centralized purchasing had demonstrably made savings impossible to those who kept to the old methods.

Borrowing a leaf from big business, the last part of the book turns to the possibility of coördinated purchasing among all the jurisdictions in the Los Angeles area. Hence, there is a review of the most outstanding examples of coöperative procurement as background for possible future intergovernmental purchasing.

Pope Again

"For forms of government let fools . . ." Anyone with the simplest degree of literacy in the field of local government can fill in the rest of Pope's unfortunately catchy couplet. Wisely skirting this poetic *cliché*, the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** launches into a discussion of "Reconstructing Our City Government"² with an admission that form is not everything, but that it can also mean a great deal in the efficient operation of city government. New Orleans' present setup is dismissed in a few scorching paragraphs; then the bureau expounds the respective merits of the commission, mayor-council, and council-manager forms, complete with

¹By Paul Beckett and Morris Plotkin.

²*City Problems*, No. 76.

charts. Conclusions: the bureau's first choice is a council-manager plan but, "if the time is not yet ripe for the council-manager form in New Orleans both from the standpoint of electorate interest and demand and the general political background, the city would do well to adopt a clear-cut, centralized form of mayor-council government."

Who Elects Councilmen?

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** asked itself this question and found, to its relief, who does *not* elect Detroit councilmen, that is, minority groups. *Just A Second*³ takes up the matter by going down the list of groups ordinarily charged with "swinging" local elections: major political parties, religion, veterans' organizations, fraternal organizations, school teachers, racial groups, Poles, Jews, Negroes, Labor. The composition of the last Detroit council is shown to have almost an inverse regard for the numerical strength of each group. Only women as a group, the bureau finds, would be numerically strong enough to elect whatever candidate they chose, but they have not chosen to do so. However, the bureau neglects to analyze elections in the light of the possible electoral cohesiveness of the male portion of the population. Is it not possible that many a woman candidate has gone down to defeat because the men-folks had a certain prejudice against women in the seats of the mighty?

Case History

While business has increased, grown powerful, slumped in depression, while people have increased in numbers, in sophistication, in social desires, what, at the same time, has happened to government in the area in which all these things were going on? A case history

of *Local Government in Genesee County* (Flint and its surrounding area) is one answer by the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan**.⁴ During the past couple of decades, the Bureau finds, cost of government among some 164 units of local government in the 655 square-mile area has executed some loops and a barrel roll and is now only slightly higher than in 1924. Responsible for about 80 per cent of total governmental cost throughout the period are four functions: education, public welfare, highways, and protection, but their relative importance has varied. Public welfare started low, rose to 26 per cent heights in 1938, is now higher than in 1924 but still responsible for only 13 per cent. Highways accounted for 21 per cent in 1924, only 10 per cent in 1940.

Property tax revenues have declined from three-fourths of the total in 1924 to one-half of the 1940 total. At the same time state and federal aid payments were more than three and a half times as large in 1940 as in 1930.

Chief problem in Genesee County: decentralized numerous units of local government, multitudinous elected officials, division of authority among many independent elective officers, boards, and commissions, artificial municipal boundaries.

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HOME TOWNS ORGANIZE FOR DEFENSE

(Continued from Page 19)

for the health and welfare functions, communities can meet their problems

in defense. The whole works should be officially sponsored and no competitive committees or groups should be tolerated. The community and national interests as a whole come first.

That involves the coöperation of public and private groups in each field. There may be many functions, if not most, where public operations must take the lead, but officials must remember that the committees will not secure united community effort unless their membership is about half and half officials and private individuals. Private agencies are doing no one any good, on the other hand, if they assume so much responsibility that public officials sit back and ignore their duty of leadership.

Only this kind of realistic planning will secure public enthusiasm behind it, and develop the kind of contribution to defense that is not yet coming from our municipalities as a whole. The rest of us can be proud, but at the same time we must be ashamed, that not the big, well organized cities, but the little nameless towns overwhelmed by defense activities are showing the way to national security and unity.

This program is one upon which we must stand united. All of us agree that in the present crisis our home towns must continue to be decent, wholesome, and healthy places in which to live.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Politics, War, and Constitutional Revision in New Jersey *Official Commission on Revision created by legislature*

THE movement to modernize the New Jersey constitution of 1844 has weathered an election and the declaration of war, and is still going strong.

The New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention, organized last February with offices at 40 Clinton Street, Newark, continues to enroll members, organize county units, and disseminate information. Courses on the state constitution in six adult schools have been completed, and there has been a steady demand for speakers. A number of debates and forums have been staged. For example, the feature on the program of the annual convention of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association in December was a debate between two former presidents of the State Bar Association, Mr. Sylvester Smith and Mr. William Evans. Mr. Smith, who spoke for the convention method of revision, is now chairman of the Bar Association's Committee for Constitutional Convention.

For the present, the center of the stage has been taken by the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution, created by Joint Resolution No. 2, P. L. 1941, approved November 18. This resolution was the first legislative response to the fact that both major political parties in their platforms last fall declared for constitutional revision. The Democrats called

for a convention, while the Republicans, after a spectacular debate, endorsed the amendment method. As usual, the principal argument against the convention was the fear of the small counties that their equal representation in the Senate might be disturbed. Both the Democrats and the convention Republicans tried to conciliate the small county men by agreeing that members of a convention be pledged not to alter the system of representation. So far, the small county men have refused to be convinced that these political pledges offer enough protection, and they still control the Senate.

The present strategy of convention advocates is therefore to proceed with their campaign of education on the need for revision and the merits of the convention method, while awaiting the report of the official committee.

Committee Personnel

This Committee is composed as follows: Mr. Arthur Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association and recognized leader of the Essex County Clean Government Republican Organization; Senator Crawford Jamieson, Democrat, of Mercer County; Senator Robert Hendrickson of Gloucester County, 1940 Republican candidate for governor; Dr. John F. Sly, director of the Princeton Government Surveys; Common Pleas Judge Walter Van Riper of Essex County; Assemblyman Walter J. Freund, Republican, of Bergen County; and James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton Times*. Under the terms of the resolution, the first two were appointed by the Governor, the next two by Senate President Scott, the next two by Assembly Speaker McClave, while Mr. Kerney was elected by the other members. The committee elected Charles R. Erdman, Jr., state municipal aid admin-

istrator, as secretary. Dr. Erdman, who is also mayor of Princeton, is author of the pamphlet, *The New Jersey Constitution—a Barrier to Governmental Economy and Efficiency*.

At the outset the majority of the members of the committee were thought to favor the amendment method of revision; although the division is close, and might well be changed after further study.

The committee is authorized to spend \$5000 in its work, but it is seeking the volunteer technical and advisory aid of Princeton, Rutgers, and Newark Universities, as well as all other organizations and individuals willing and able to help. It seems unlikely that the committee will try to make a final report on all needed changes by February 2, the date set in the resolution.

Constitutional revision continues to be a very live issue in New Jersey. It is probably a healthy sign that the discussion is now centered on the changes that are desired, rather than on the method of effecting them. If the people of the state become thoroughly convinced that substantial changes are needed in order to fit their government to meet the burdens which war and reconstruction will impose upon it, some way can certainly be found to make them. Even the cumbersome method of amendment could be moulded into an effective instrument, if warring partisan and local interests could be brought together in a spirit of unity to meet a recognized crisis in democracy. Or, by the same token, these interests might quite suddenly agree to give the traditional democratic method of a constitutional convention another whirl.

JOHN BEBOUT

Executive Assistant to
Governor Edison

Legislative Apportionment in New Hampshire

The lower chamber of the New Hampshire General Court, as the legislature of that state is termed, will have about 444 members for its next session, whereas it formerly had 423.¹ The state thus increased its hold on the doubtful honor of possessing the largest house of representatives in the nation. The size of the new house will vary from 431 to 456 in different years, an unusual phenomenon that is also a New Hampshire distinction. A proposed constitutional amendment, if adopted by the people, will reduce the size—but only to 400 as a maximum or 375 as a minimum.

Even the federal House of Representatives has but 435 members. The seven million people of New York City find 26 councilmen sufficient. The states of Arizona, Idaho, Utah, which are comparable in population to New Hampshire have 52, 64, and 60 members in their lower chambers. Vermont, smaller than the Granite State, has 246 members in its house.

Why does New Hampshire have such a large house of representatives? The constitution, adopted in 1784, provides the basis upon which the apportionment is made. Its theory envisions the state as composed of local governmental units—towns and cities—and not artificial units or counties. Only the state is superior to these local units. Because of this philosophy each town or city is entitled to representation in the legislature. The constitution, then, provides that every town and city ward is entitled to one representative if it has a population of 600. To obtain two members 1,200 additional persons are required, 1,200 being the mean increasing number for every additional representative.

¹See also "An Old Tradition Gets Crowded," editorial, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1941, p. 560.

But this did not provide for towns with less than 600 persons. Such local units cannot be joined in order to form districts as this procedure would be contrary to the theory of town representation. An ingenious Yankee scheme resolves the problem. The constitution provides for the interesting and unique principle of part-time representation.

Part-time Representation

Whenever any town, place, or city ward shall have less than six hundred inhabitants the General Court shall authorize such town . . . to elect and send to the General Court a representative such proportionate part of the time as the number of its inhabitants shall bear to six hundred.

Under this provision a town with fewer than 120 people should receive no representation, a town with 120 to 240 persons is represented in one session out of five during the decade, a town with 240 to 360 persons is represented in two sessions, etc., 120 being the mean increasing number for each part-time representative up to 599 or a maximum part-time representation of four sessions of the five in a decade.

A reapportionment in 1941 produces a net increase of 19 in part-time representatives over the number in 1931, while the net increase in full-time members is 23.

The exemplary action of New Hampshire in undertaking prompt and accurate reapportionment could well be imitated by other states. By a clever arrangement the legislature is furnished with a persistent prodding to make the necessary reapportionment every ten years. The prodding originates with the towns under part-time representation that would go unrepresented if a new measure were not enacted at the beginning of each decade.

There are four specific criticisms that can be made of the basis of apportionment. First, the principle of representa-

tion from every town, when coupled with the small quota in use and the part-time representation principle, leads to the unwieldy nature of the house.

Second, the use of small quotas results in over- or under-representation if there are slight changes in population over a ten-year period. Not even twins would be necessary to upset the representation! There are two towns that come within one person of gaining or losing a representative.

Third, the part-time representation principle means that a small town is totally unrepresented in the house in from one to four sessions of the legislature in each decade.

Town vs. City

Fourth, the small town is favored over the larger unit by reason of the clause requiring 1,200 persons for each additional representative, when 600 is the quota for one full-time member. For example, the gentleman from Dublin represents 621 people, or the part-time member from Millsfield in the 1942 session represents 34 persons, while a delegate from Lebanon represents 1,265 constituents. As a result the rural vote is given too large a share in the legislative process.

In attempting to limit the size of the house, the quota for a full-time member has been increased in the proposed constitutional amendment from 600 to 700. This action preserves the fundamental theory of permitting each town or city to be represented. However, it leads to an increase in part-time members. If the basic concept is discarded there are a number of courses that can be followed, including proportional representation with the use of a fixed quota and election at large, or the state can be redistricted.

But there are practical obstacles to be overcome. First, the rural element is jealous of its present control. Second,

there is the alleged corruption or radicalism of the cities as compared with the sober and virtuous rural population. Third, cities which have generally made such failures of their local government should not be allowed to dominate the political affairs of the state.

The fourth obstacle is peculiar to New Hampshire and to New England. The town has been the center, the unit of all local and state government for over two centuries, and it thus has become embedded in the political sod of the state. It will not be easy to make any change that will destroy the strength of the town in the legislature.

There are things to be said in favor of the present arrangement. The New Hampshire House resembles the town meeting. It is large, it is democratic; everyone knows his representative, or has been or may be a member of the house. Seats are even passed around by rotation, although this is probably more true of the rural than the urban areas. The educative influence of a large representative body tends to be great and such a body cannot be challenged merely because of its size. But the New Hampshire theory of representation must be harmonized with modern conditions or it will defeat its purpose of securing the greatest amount of democracy in the lower house of the General Court.

RICHARD A. WARE

Detroit Bureau of Governmental
Research

Florida Tinkers with Its Constitution

Rather than rewrite the state's old constitution the Florida legislature has approved nine constitutional amendments, to be voted on by the people in November 1942, according to the *Florida Municipal News*. Aside from one amendment dealing with procedure for further amendments, few of the pro-

posals appear to be of a fundamental nature such as a constitution should be expected to embrace, thus removing them from the possibility of legislative revision with changed conditions.

Prominent among the proposals is a gasoline tax amendment, which would set up the state board of administration as a constitutional agency and would pledge two cents of the seven-cent gas tax to the payment of county road and bridge debts and for road construction for the next fifty years. This would freeze the gas tax allocation in an effort to strengthen county credit throughout the state, and to effect refunding of county road and bridge bonds on advantageous terms. It provides that surplus revenue, after bond requirements have been met, is to be spent on road construction.

The objects of the other eight amendments include:

Making the game and fresh-water fish commission a constitutional agency;

Authorizing the legislature to set up a constitutional agency to regulate salt-water fishing;

Providing for the direct election of circuit judges, now nominated in primaries and appointed by the governor;

Increasing the present thirty-eight state senatorial districts to forty;

Extending tax exemption on property held and used for religious, scientific, municipal, educational, fraternal, or charitable purposes, if used "to the extent of at least one-fourth thereof" for such purposes, instead of requiring exclusive use as at present;

Permitting garnishment of salaries of heads of families to the extent of 25 per cent, except where weekly income is less than \$25;

Setting up a procedure by which the constitution could be amended at a special election within ninety days after the legislature has approved the proposed amendment—the present method

requires at least eighteen months;

Permitting changes in county commission districts in Dade County and providing four-year terms for commissioners.

Louisiana and Texas Cities Plan Ahead for Legislation

The reorganized Louisiana Municipal Association has begun a series of regional meetings to discuss local governmental problems and a legislative program for the cities of that state, to be presented to the legislature when it meets in May 1942, according to the American Municipal Association. Six or more of such meetings will be held in January.

Realizing that long-range preparedness counts, the League of Texas Municipalities at its November convention directed its president to appoint a committee to prepare drafts of recommended bills, forming the League's legislative program for 1943, in advance of the next annual convention.

A committee on inter-American municipal relations was also authorized by the Texas League.

New York State Departments Cooperate in Training for Civilian Defense

In order to increase the effectiveness of in-service training programs, especially those concerned with preparing volunteer auxiliary personnel for civilian defense, thirteen departments of the government of New York State are cooperating through an informal council of state administrative officials, which was created by the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Education Department. The council fosters the interchange of information and voluntary coordination of effort among the departmental administrative officials.

State departments at present are

concerned chiefly with training problems associated with the rapid expansion of their activities in which the voluntary assistance of civilians will be required during national defense emergencies. Among these are preparations for rendering mutual aid among communities in such fields as water supply, sanitation, fire defense, housing and hospitalization of injured or evacuated civilians in state institutions, transportation and similar problems arising either from extraordinary expansion of communities due to defense production or army cantonments, or from sabotage or actual warfare.

An intensive survey was undertaken in December by the State Education Department's Bureau of Public Service Training to discover the areas in each state department where training of personnel for teaching others would be most effective. The administrative officials, after hearing a progress report of this survey, agreed that it should be used as a basis for suggesting definite teacher-training programs applicable to the personnel of their various state departments.

An example of such effective "training to train" programs of government personnel is the current program the State Education Department is carrying on in the field of fire defense. In New York City the Bureau of Public Service Training is giving instruction in practical teaching methods to its Fire Department's 1,700 officers so that they will become more competent instructors of the thousands of auxiliary fire forces who have volunteered their services for civilian defense. This program was recently undertaken at the request of Fire Commissioner Patrick Walsh and Assistant Chief John J. McCarthy, in charge of the Fire Department's defense activities. Last June, at the request of Governor Herbert H. Lehman, as chairman of the State Council of

Defense, and the State Fire Defense Committee, the Bureau inaugurated a program of systematic instruction of the state's 200,000 members of volunteer fire departments in a series of county fire defense schools. This training program has also attracted members of industrial and municipal paid fire departments and has received enthusiastic endorsement of the State Advisory Committee of Fire Chiefs.

Included in the informal council of administrators for in-service training are the various bureaus of the following state departments: agriculture and markets, audit and control, banking, civil service, conservation, correction, education, health, insurance, labor, mental hygiene, social welfare, taxation and finance.

Mutual Aid Plan for New York State Water Service

A comprehensive statewide mutual aid plan for water service in emergencies has been approved by Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York; it is to be carried on as part of the civilian defense program through close coöperation with all local water officials and coöordinated with the work of local defense councils. It follows the specific recommendations of the special committee of water works experts which was appointed at the request of the Governor by the Mayors' Conference and State Department of Health to examine into the needs and outline a practicable and workable arrangement for coöperation and assistance between local water officials in case of emergencies.

In certain areas of the state, particularly those which support large and important national defense industries, there is an urgent need for inter-connecting adjoining public water supplies so as to maintain water service in event of failure of any one water sup-

ply. In many communities there is a need for reinforcement of distributing systems to make it possible to supply water to given points from more than one direction so that ruptured sections can be valved off for repairs without disrupting water service.

The Governor has appointed a state water supply coöordinator and a zone coöordinator with an assistant for each of twenty-three water service zones. The state coöordinator is the assistant director of the Division of Sanitation of the State Department of Health. The zone coöordinators are experienced water works officials.

Legislation is needed to carry the plan fully into effect but for the most part present laws are adequate and much of the work can go forward immediately.

Hatch Act Tested in Ohio

The Hamilton County Good Government League, of Cincinnati, Ohio, of which Murray Seasongood is president and John Benjamin, executive secretary, states that Cincinnati produced the first trial and conviction under the Hatch Act which prohibits pernicious political activities of civil service employees of the federal government or of state agencies when paid in whole or in part by federal funds. Harry J. Patterson, manager of the Cincinnati office of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment, was found by the United States Civil Service Commission to have used his official authority and influence for the purpose of affecting the result of the November general election and to have advised employees under his supervision to contribute to a political campaign fund; and it was stated that his acts constituted attempted and actual coercion.

In an order adopted October 10, 1941, but temporarily suspended until December to permit the Attorney-Gen-

eral of Ohio, who opposed the commission's action, to take additional steps in the matter, the commission found that the Hatch Act had been violated and that the violations warranted the immediate removal of Mr. Patterson from office. Nine other employees were also accused before the commission, which was considering their cases.

The Good Government League, which had called attention to political activities in the bureau as far back as November 1940, and took an active part in bringing the matter before the federal commission, reports that the state of Ohio may dismiss Mr. Patterson, retain him and sacrifice federal funds equal to his salary for two years, or appeal to the federal district court.

Council-Manager Plan News

In **Gloucester, Massachusetts**, Mayor-elect Donald J. Ross, who won his office at the municipal election on December 2, announced the following day the formation of a committee to study city manager government with a view toward its future establishment in that city. Alfred Marchant heads the committee, which will also consider the possibilities of proportional representation.

Clifton Forge, Virginia, adopted the manager plan on December 17 by a vote of 644 to 436. The plan is to go into effect on September 1, 1942.

In the town of **West Point, Virginia**, a movement is under way for the drafting of a council-manager charter for submission to the general assembly of that state at its next term. Mayor Harris is especially interested in the plan.

The manager plan has been proposed for **Anderson, South Carolina**, and was explained and recommended in a radio talk over station WAIM on December 2 by Mrs. Richard Williams of the neighboring city of Greenwood, which

adopted the manager plan in 1939.

A charter commission has been organized in **Dearborn, Michigan**, for the purpose of revising that city's charter.

The municipal government study committee, appointed by the mayor of **St. Louis, Michigan**, to investigate various forms of local government, has recommended the manager plan. Its report was made public December 4.

In **Platteville, Wisconsin**, there is a committee of citizens interested in the manager plan.

Beatrice, Nebraska, and **Baton Rouge, Louisiana**, are among other cities showing interest in the plan.

Cooperative Traffic Law Enforcement Program Initiated

With the prospect of more than 40,000 traffic deaths in 1941, and 1,400,000 injured persons, an emergency traffic law enforcement program was set in action on November 14 at a special meeting of the board of officers of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. It has the coöperation of nine governmental associations and the provost marshal general's office of the War Department, as offered at a conference later that day. The nine collaborating groups are: United States Conference of Mayors, United States Public Roads Administration, American Bar Association, International City Managers' Association, National Association of Attorneys-General, Governors' Conference, Council of State Governments, American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, National Conference of Judicial Councils, and National Safety Council.

Specific emergency programs to put the general program into effect were approved for the police, motor vehicle administrators, governors, mayors, city managers, prosecutors, judges, courts, and attorneys-general.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

**Rural-Urban Council
Sets Successful Pattern**

***Ohio communities cooperate
in numerous public projects***

THE Rural-Urban Coördinating Council of the city of Bellevue, Ohio, and the surrounding rural trade area is the result of seven years of experience in community work. We believe it is one answer to the problem of getting urban-rural coöperation on common civic goals.

We started with the organization of the Flat Rock Public Committee in an unincorporated village, thus filling a local need common to most villages in America. Then we found that the public library and various other projects required a township organization, so the Thompson Township Council was formed.

A year later the fire protection contract showed the need of similar co-operating organizations in all the townships surrounding our trading-center city, so a council was arranged in each of these townships to be known as the Four-Township Council.¹

Ensuing contacts with city leaders in our trading center of Bellevue were "eye-openers" to us rural folks, for the city leaders accomplished their civic work so much more easily, probably because they had more confidence and enthusiasm and had the funds available for the necessary expense of handling projects.

We discovered that the best way for

us to get our public services and conveniences was to set up an organization which would represent all the rural people, to contact the business and professional people of the city who were the civic leaders. The rural people in the area were already giving their patronage to these business and professional men.

It had been found that our rural people were entirely willing for their Parent-Teacher groups, Farm Bureaus, Township Trustees, schools, churches, etc., to be represented by their presiding officers on our Township Councils because it presented opportunities for coöperation with no financial obligations. Each individual Township Council is able to handle its own local projects.

But when the rural people need something big they generally find it much easier to present it to the combined Rural-Urban Coördinating Council through their Township Council presidents because they can thus get the attention of the city's constructive forces and often the enthusiastic assistance of county, state, and national agencies.

At first our trade-area council worked with the city's Booster Club, a commercial organization, and they coöperated in a commendable public-spirited manner, but we felt the need of a closer contact with the other constructive forces of the city—the schools, churches, hospital, library, etc.

We went to the Booster Club and frankly told them our problem and explained that we preferred getting away from the commercial emphasis.

These business men were public-spirited enough to see the point and were willing to contact their other civic organizations and induce them to be included in a broader council which would operate through five general committees: government, education, re-

¹See "Four-Township Council Brings Benefits to Ohio Communities," by Mr. Hunsinger, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1938, p. 510.

ligion, economics, and social. These were natural groupings and thus was organized the Rural-Urban Coördinating Council. The committee set-up is shown on the letterhead reproduced below.

The coöperating city groups appointed their own urban-coördinator and the writer was elected to coördinate rural activities. The opportunities of these coördinators to organize the community work of both the city and country is really surprising—a job that any public-spirited man would enjoy, almost like a city manager. Our experience with the local government officials has been very gratifying. They welcome us as a “buffer” for we always include them in our meetings.

To date we have accomplished over a hundred public projects which are typical of the common needs of the average rural communities of America and now have a half dozen projects

under way, including revision of United States rural mail routes, fire protection contract, telephone service extension, vocational agriculture instruction, railroad crossing signals—all common problems throughout our country.

When the present National Defense Council was organized locally a few weeks ago, Bellevue's Mayor found our entire rural community ready for just such an emergency, whereas ordinarily the resources of the average rural community are scarcely scratched in such national campaigns. The fact that the National Defense Council is being organized to cover both the cities and their trade areas instead of using arbitrary county lines is added proof that our local plan is sound. We have actually tried it out and find that it works!

C. S. HUNSINGER

Rural-Urban Coördinating Council
Flat Rock, Ohio

THE RURAL-URBAN COORDINATING COUNCIL of The City of Bellevue and Surrounding Townships

RURAL COORDINATOR

C. S. Hunsinger, Flat Rock, O.

Rural Council

BELLEVUE COORDINATOR

H. B. Wright

City Council

Committees

LYME TWP Joseph Lawler,
Chairman. Township Officers
and County Officials

GOVERN-
MENT

MAYOR J. F. Shannon, Chair-
man. Service Director, State
Patrol, Red Cross, Hospital

THOMPSON TWP. W. C. Gar-
land, Ch. All Supts. of Schools
Presidents Boards of Education,
Library and P.T.A. Assns.

EDUCATION SUPT. OF SCHOOLS W. L. Arn-
holt, Ch. Pres. Bd. of Educa-
tion, P. T. A. Assn. Librarian

SHERMAN TWP. Rev. Taunero,
Ch. FLAT ROCK Public
Com. Rev. O. W. Matzke All
Pastors, S. S. Supts & heads of
Christian Groups

RELIGION PRES. MINISTERIAL ASSN.
Rev. Euler, Pres. All S.S. Supts.
and heads of Christian Groups

GROTON Twp. Harlow Stahl,
Ch. Heads of all Farm Bureaus
& Co-operatives, Farm Groups
and Public Utilities

ECONOMICS REP. BOOSTER CLUB W. M.
LaSalle, Ch. Heads of all Labor
Organizations, Industries, Pub-
lic Utilities & Newspaper

YORK Twp. H. L. Seaman, Ch.
Heads of all Granges, 4-H clubs
& social groups

SOCIAL Y.M.C.A. SETY John Slater, Ch.
Heads of all Clubs and Lodges
& social organizations

Roundup—

In case you haven't yet decided—and many haven't—about the place of civic work in a war world, we suggest taking a look at the call to action by President Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin in this issue of the REVIEW. Mr. Dykstra, speaking to the League's annual meeting in St. Louis, reaffirmed his faith in the effort to make democracy work better at the grass roots in our cities, towns, and counties—the fundamental premise on which all of us in this field build our programs today.

We particularly like the paragraph in which he says: "This is a strategic time for action. We can have no effective democracy on a national scale if the sources of democratic action on the local front are corrupt or even just plain inefficient. It is locally that we develop the practice of popular government and produce leadership for the state and nation. If we cannot manage local affairs well there is little promise of success on a national scale. If then we are in earnest about the success of the democratic way in the nation and in the world we have a job to do right at home."

We can't escape the logic of this position today any more than we could in the days just before the United States entered the fighting war.

Always quick to adapt itself to changing conditions, the **National League of Women Voters** called a meeting of its general council in Indianapolis, January 7 and 8, to plan "methods of extending League knowledge and experience with government to a wider public in war time." We think the following statement issued by the League's executive committee presents a challenge to every civic organization in this field:

"A new direction, a new tempo, are asked of the League of Women Voters

by a country at war. This means new methods of work. The comfortable safety of being sure of the wisdom of every small detail before expressing an opinion, even our own education by exhaustive, careful study groups—these we must temporarily sacrifice. The League, to pull its oar today, must stop hoarding its experience and knowledge within its membership. It must share this experience and knowledge with the general public; it must reach not five but five hundred times as many as in the past."

If your organization hasn't drafted its program for 1942—or even if it has—you should have a look at two action programs for **Kiwanis Clubs** in 1942. One is entitled "Citizenship," the other "Public Affairs for the United States." Both are extremely attractive jobs typographically and contain suggestions which should be useful to all sorts of groups—recommendations regarding the organization of community councils, celebration of "I Am an American Day," study of the operation of local government, etc.

All too frequently citizen organizations interested in good government, without any knowledge of why the condition exists, rail against the large number of individuals who do not vote. It was to find out why so many eligible citizens fail to vote in Minneapolis that the **Minneapolis Research Bureau** of the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, with the coöperation of the Political Science Department of the University of Minnesota, undertook a survey this fall.

Poll takers selected 1,166 names from the official list of non-voters and an attempt was made to interview these persons. Actually 461 Minneapolis citizens were interviewed. The conclusions are interesting, and indicate among other things that non-voting is not always due to the individual's negligence, since the largest percentage of non-voting

was caused by disfranchisement as a result of change of residence within 30 days of election day. Another significant conclusion is the necessity for more widespread information about the absent voter's ballot, for many persons interviewed were not even aware of its existence. Other reasons for non-voting were those with which we are all too familiar and about which we do too little—the feeling that city elections are not important, and lack of information about candidates and issues.

In response to numerous requests for information about installment payment of taxes in Wisconsin, the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** has published a question and answer feature covering a number of phases of the subject in the December 1 issue of its publication. . . . Any organization which receives more than a few inquiries on a particular subject might well follow this example, on the theory that if some people are interested enough to write letters about it, many more would probably be glad to have the information.

Have you seen the promotion folder issued by the **Pennsylvania Economy League** urging the reduction of non-defense expenditures? There has been a plethora of material on this subject recently—much of it not too well written or interestingly presented—but this leaflet strikes us as particularly effective. It is attractive and very much to the point.

R. M. W.

College Students Survey a City

A survey of the city government of Rockford, Illinois, undertaken by the students of public administration at Rockford College, is now being circulated.

This is believed to be one of the few times that any college group has been entrusted with a comprehensive project

of this kind. Its work has been approved by the city and published with city funds.

Under the direction of Professor W. Hardy Wickwar, the students have prepared a readable booklet supplanting the usual annual city report confined to figures and complicated statistical tables. The project was launched for the double purpose of acquainting students with the actual operation of city government through some participation in the day-to-day routine, and subsequently, of sharing their findings with Rockford citizens.

Instead of concentrating on the events of a single year, the report endeavors to interpret today's problems in the light of the past twelve years' experience, including both boom and depression years. Graphs are used generously throughout the survey in an effort to clarify these current trends and tendencies.

The survey also offers a basis for comparison with other cities so that the Rockford citizen may be better able to evaluate the efficiency of his own city government. For example, in comparison with other cities of similar size, Rockford is markedly free from serious crime. It has an unusually good record, too, in low fire losses. Outside Chicago, there is no city in Illinois which receives a higher rating from the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

But the city also has its weak points, and the report covers these impartially, reminding citizens that "this is our city. You are invited to read this survey and form your own opinions on what needs to be done and what is the best way of doing it."

The report was written after the students had been given ample opportunity to study each city department and to confer at length with city officials who coöperated wholeheartedly in carrying out the project.

Rockford, a city of 85,000, is one of the nation's centers in the machine-tool industry and also figures in the present defense picture through the reopening of Camp Grant.

The students who worked on the survey had the help of the fine arts department of the college in designing the cover and assistance from the mathematics department in the preparation of graphs.

LOUISE K. WILDE

Rockford College

Look Before You Leap into Housing Problems

Citizen Housing Associations, a new pamphlet reprinted from the 1941 *Housing Yearbook* of the **National Association of Housing Officials**, would be welcomed in any period. But at a time when many communities face serious housing problems as a result of the boom in defense industries, it will prove particularly valuable.

The pamphlet summarizes the organizational structure and the activities of some 27 housing associations under such headings as "classes of membership," "determination of policy," "paid staff and volunteers," "budgets and methods of financing," and finally, an especially good section on "standards for a citizens' housing association or council."

Interested citizens, anxious to do something about housing problems in their own communities, but unaware of the best way to go about it, would do well, before forming an organization or adopting a "program," to get a copy of this pamphlet (price ten cents) from the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society,¹ and learn what has been done in other localities. And they will not be disappointed or misinformed. For the pamphlet is based

on the answers received from a questionnaire sent out by the NAHO to all unofficial housing organizations listed in the 1940 *Housing Yearbook*.

We don't guarantee that *Citizen Housing Associations* will solve all the problems of a new organization, but we do believe it will make the road ahead much clearer to those who are really concerned with doing something more than talking about housing conditions.

R. M. W.

"Stockholders Meetings" Held for Civic Donors

The complaint is often heard from contributors to citizen organizations that once a year they are asked to give their money and beyond that they hear nothing of the organization or its activities from one year's end to the next. In an effort to counteract this situation and give contributors a sense of real participation, the **Minneapolis Civic Council** sponsored this year a series of eight "stockholders' meetings."

These were all luncheon meetings, held in the outlying sections of the city as well as in the downtown district, and each contributor received an invitation to attend the meeting nearest his place of business. The sessions were brief, running from 12:15 to 1:30, and were addressed by the president of the Civic Council, who outlined its purposes and functions, and by the executive vice-president, who highlighted the activities of the seven organizations which comprise the Council. These talks, which were illustrated by an organization chart and a chart showing the distribution of the contributor's dollar, were followed by a question period.

Those who attended the meetings declared that the plan was a great success and that they felt much more familiar with the Council's work than they had before.

R. M. W.

¹105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Government in Missouri¹

***Local governments still
struggling under 1875
constitutional provisions***

MISSOURI county government needs revision. Decentralized organization, untrained personnel, and common sense methods of conducting public business are inadequate for a motor age with its complex economic and social problems. Several possibilities for improvement involve changes: (1) in form of organization, (2) in area, (3) in state-county relationships, and (4) in administrative methods.

The Missouri county board retains the historic and confusing name of county court. The popular election of its three members and its clerk, as well as of the circuit clerk, probate judge, and justices of the peace, is provided for in the antiquated constitution of 1875. In addition the constitution requires the election of sheriff and coroner. Statutes provide for the popular election of eight other county officers.

Many of the existing constitutional provisions were designed to prevent serious abuses that existed prior to 1875. The prohibition of special legislation on a number of subjects did remedy certain abuses, but it also created new problems, for general laws place all counties in a strait-jacket.

Missouri counties should be classified in order that the form and organization

of the government could more nearly fit the needs of individual counties. The five urban counties should be given the right to draft their own charters but an optional charter might be provided as an alternative, especially for the three less populous counties.

The remaining counties might be divided into two or more classes, with a slightly different governmental setup for each class, or there might be one general law for all rural counties, with two or more alternative organizations.

Each county should have as its policy-forming body a small elective board of commissioners. A rural county needs only three members, while an urban county may desire a board of five, seven, or even nine. As far as possible administrative officials should be appointed on a merit basis.

An urban county might have its own civil service commission, but a rural county must necessarily depend on a state commission.

The administrative structure in all counties should embody managerial ideas, providing for a chief administrative officer and appropriate subordinates, but the degree of complexity would depend on the nature of the county.

Certain judicial officials who perform essentially state services must remain largely independent of the county board and its chief administrative agent. Each county should have a county court to supplant the justices of the peace.

Too Many School Districts

Missouri has 8,750 school districts and 1,086 special districts. Since the county is today the smallest practicable unit for local road purposes, all incorporated townships and special road districts should be abolished. In 1938-1939 there were 1640 school districts with fewer than ten pupils, ac-

¹Summary of address presented at Forty-Seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, Missouri, November 19, 1941.

cording to a recent study by the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute. Eventually, Missouri should have between five hundred and one thousand school districts. Thus the number of local units could be reduced by approximately eight thousand.

The consolidation of counties should be authorized by the constitution or by statute. Provision should be made also for functional consolidation or intercounty coöperation. Missouri counties have coöperated in maintaining county agents, home demonstration agents, public nurses, and in other health activities. Counties are authorized to coöperate in establishing and maintaining district almshouses, but none of these institutions has been organized. Certain other activities might well be handled through coöperation of adjoining counties.

State Centralization

It is sometimes suggested that county government in the Ozark section might be abolished and its functions transferred to the state as has been done in Maine. The Missouri county, however, is much larger in area than the Maine town and the Ozarks are not sparsely populated. Furthermore, the abolition of any county is merely an academic possibility, for local political leaders and the citizens generally would not support such a proposal.

State centralization has been an outstanding development in Missouri during the past twenty years as demonstrated by state establishment of a highway patrol; state adoption of a system of grants-in-aid to local school districts; state supervision of county records, budgets, accounts, and reports; state assumption of two-thirds of the direct cost of maintaining indigents in state hospitals; and state development of the social security program.

The state has tapped new sources of

revenue to meet the costs of its enlarged activities, but except for education it has shared little of its increased revenues with any local function. The next logical step would be for the state to assume the entire expense of indigents in eleemosynary institutions while gradually supplanting these institutions by several state infirmaries.

The state might assume a greater share, either directly or through grants-in-aid, in such activities as public health, law enforcement, and assessment of property. It might encourage such newer functions as community auditoriums, libraries, parks, playgrounds, recreational centers, and perhaps land-use planning and rural zoning. It would hardly be good policy, however, to subsidize present governments where such aid might perpetuate existing undesirable conditions.

Finance

The legislature in 1933 took a definite step forward in laws pertaining to county financial administration, but the provisions regarding rural counties were too detailed.

The legislature should establish certain standards for county budgets and financial statements and authorize the auditor to work out the specific revenue and expenditure classifications. Before most counties will be able to balance their budgets it will be necessary to advance the general property tax date.

The accounting process could be improved by centralization of collection of all county revenues, by centralized purchasing, and by a pre-audit of reports, settlements, and claims presented to the county board. County accounts should be on an accrual basis. A monthly financial statement should be prepared for the county board and the public, and the annual financial statement should be less detailed, but it should present a complete general pic-

ture of county finances. A brief summary of tax rates, bonded indebtedness, revenues by sources, costs of departments and activities, and the net cash balance or deficit in the treasury is sufficient information for a majority of the voters.

The state auditor should make annual or biennial county audits. The financial laws should be revised to eliminate doubts as to interpretation. Assessments should be more carefully supervised. Taxes ought to be payable in installments. A tax reversion law should be enacted, so that chronically delinquent real estate would revert to public ownership. Perhaps some state agency should have supervisory authority regarding county indebtedness.

Urban and Rural Problems Differ

The foregoing suggestions embody apparently inconsistent programs. The problems of urban and rural counties are so different, however, that essentially opposite solutions appear desirable, even though it may be difficult to apply them to certain borderline counties.

The chief needs in rural counties are centralization of authority among a few administrative officers, a reduction in the number of local units, and up-to-date business methods under adequate state supervision. State supervision can be more effectively exercised through a county manager or near manager than under the present decentralized system. Since effective state supervision under the present structure might involve at least eight different state agencies, the state itself must modernize its administrative organization and procedures before it can hope to promote an integrated county-state program.

WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW
University of Missouri

New York City Selects County Officers on Merit Basis

The long and arduous task of disengaging the five county offices of sheriff and four county offices of register in New York City from the spoilsman's grip appears finally to have reached its successful culmination. After several unsuccessful attempts to place the reform measure on the ballot, it was finally voted on and adopted by the people November 4, 1941, by a 290,000 majority in 720,000 votes cast. Two alternative proposals sponsored by the Democratic party were defeated by safe margins.

The New York City Civil Service Commission immediately held examinations for the new city-wide offices of sheriff and register and the successful candidates have now been selected by the mayor from the three highest on the lists of eligibles. The new officers, City Sheriff John J. McCloskey, Jr., and City Register Henry W. Ralph, took office January 1. Their offices are being organized on a 100 per cent competitive civil service basis, as the charter amendment required.

In the preceding reform attempts judicial processes were used to prevent a popular vote on the charter proposal, and on this occasion it appeared for a time that hostile court action would still prevent the mayor from acting in accordance with the mandate of the voters. One supreme court justice issued an injunction denying the right of the mayor to appoint a sheriff on the ground that the constitution required that abolition of the offices be presented as two separate issues. Another justice, in hearing a petition to restrain the mayor from appointing a register, refused to issue the injunction declaring, "The subject covered by the amendment was the exercise of powers to effect county reform specifically

granted to the city by the constitution. These could be included in a single enactment, just as all subjects in a municipal charter may be included in a single act without violating the 'one subject' rule." He stated the "one-subject" provision was intended to prevent deception of the public and in this case "no one could have been misled as to the purpose and scope." The two cases were joined before the New York Court of Appeals which upheld the validity of the charter amendment by a vote of five to two.

Saint Louis County Considers Reorganization

St. Louis County, which embraces the suburbs but not the central city of St. Louis, is analyzing present and future needs in order to formulate a plan of governmental reorganization of structure, procedure, and powers to meet such needs. The requirements arising from growing defense industries in the St. Louis area are giving the formulation of such plans additional impetus. A recently created citizens' committee is devoting careful study to constitutional home rule and the manager plan as first objectives toward the goal of adequate governmental services.

Rockland County, N. Y., Acts under Merit System Statute

Pursuant to the 1941 law requiring all units of local government to adopt the merit system before July 1, 1942, Rockland County, New York, is the first to request state assistance in the establishment of such a system. Of the options of county commission, county personnel office, and state-administered plans, Rockland chose the third. Classification of jobs by the State Civil Service Commission has been virtually completed, and a report will be issued shortly.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Local Government Can Help Win War *Mere Avoidance of fiscal difficulties not enough*

SEVERAL weeks have elapsed, as this is written, since the attacks on Pearl Harbor launched the United States into full-fledged warfare. But it is not too early to say that local government has not been caught unprepared to carry out its part in what may well be a bitter and hard-fought struggle.

Measures undertaken during the period when our effort was defensive and preparatory have proven amazingly effective in meeting the strains imposed on the municipalities so far, and offer heartening proof that local government can rise to whatever heights may be required of it.

Most spectacular of these proofs of the vitality of local government have of course been the purely defensive measures put into effect promptly and forcefully on both coasts. Despite the confusion attending the "practice" air raid alarms in New York City and the alarms which may or may not have been "practice" at San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle, the machinery set up by the Office of Civilian Defense functioned on the whole without serious criticism. In fact, the promptness with which detailed air raid instructions appeared in the press must have been a source of amazement to those who were not already acquainted with the scope of the work which the cities, and the OCD, had already undertaken months before the Axis blows fell.

It may be recorded, however, that

the Los Angeles Disaster Council had been organized for just such a job more than a year before it was given the stand-by order, while New York City's training of auxiliary and volunteer firemen, air raid precautions workers, first aid workers, and the like antedated and formed a pattern for the program set up by the OCD. It may truthfully be said that the cities were well ahead of the Congress in recognizing, and acting upon, the reality of the danger well before actual war began.

Impacts of War

Less spectacular but none the less important are the financial impacts of the war on local government. These are necessarily slower to develop, but in the long run the formulation of and adherence to a sound and adequate fiscal program will be just as necessary to civilian defense and the efficient prosecution of the war effort as the precautions already taken to safeguard lives and property. Some of the problems are already evident, however, and the patterns of others to follow are reasonably clear.

The onset of the war has posed two immediate fiscal problems. The most immediate was that of caring for those "bombed out" in Hawaii and the Philippines.

The Congressional appropriation of \$150,000,000 for federal aid to local defense sections earlier in the year set the pattern by establishing the principle that the burden was one to be shared by nation as well as locality. This was followed up scarcely a week after the war began by the dispatch to the military authorities in Honolulu and Manila of federal checks for \$10,000,000 each, to be made available to the civilian authorities for civilian relief and precautionary measures. An earlier step for rehabilitation of civilian

losses was the setting up of \$100,000,000 by the Defense Finance Corporation for federal war damage insurance.

Already, therefore, the principle is formulated that emergency aid for war-ravished sections will come in the first instance from federal funds. The local agencies to handle these funds are well established, embracing both city and county governments.

Borrowing Affected

A second problem presented to cities was that of borrowing. While the possibility of active war had been largely discounted in the movement of the municipal bond market during the past year or so, the suddenness of the attack had its repercussions. Thus, Niagara Falls, New York, opened bids on December 8 on \$463,000 of its bonds to find the best bid was for interest coupons of 2 per cent, a price which, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer*, was about 80 basis points above the level at which the bonds could have been sold through the preceding Saturday. Scranton, Pennsylvania, and Jackson, Mississippi, rejected all bids received on Tuesday offerings, while a Wednesday offering by nine local housing authorities was postponed.

Prices recovered toward the end of the first week, and further improvement has been shown since then, but the municipal bond market continues extremely sensitive and municipalities may expect to pay somewhat more for borrowed money in the near future than they had up to the time the war began. Furthermore, there is a definite likelihood that a considerable amount of scheduled borrowing will be abandoned, although in a number of instances where the new construction is necessitated by defense requirements this cannot be done.

Providing funds to rectify war damage and curtailing borrowing because

of rising interest costs are not the only problems facing municipalities, however. Of more serious import, in so far as the national economy is concerned, is the entire question of the relationship of local revenues and costs to the national war effort.

It has for some months been evident that the cost of operating municipal government is rising. It has been shown in the upward movement of the prices of materials and supplies for some months. Within more recent periods local government has found itself increasingly in competition with defense industry in its demand for labor, with the result that salaries and wage costs are now subject to considerable upward pressure also. As the war effort proceeds it may well be anticipated that local government will find it increasingly difficult to man its posts, simply because of the scarcity of trained man power.

Fortunately, the great majority of American cities enter the struggle with their finances in far sounder shape than they were when the economic depression began. Among the large West Coast cities only Seattle has failed to attain a position of fiscal soundness during the post-depression period, and even that city is in a somewhat better position relative to 1930 since it has actually balanced two consecutive budgets whereas this could not be said in 1931. New York City under fusion administration has put its fiscal house in order—although it still faces tremendous problems—and the other large east coast municipalities have either attained satisfactory positions or shown great improvement.

The cities in the most vulnerable sections are therefore in what might be termed fair to good condition. Inland, among the industrial centers, Chicago continues unsatisfactorily situated as regards its current accounts but its

modest public debt has been reduced sharply and the throes of the 1928 reassessment which caused such difficulties in the 1930's are a thing of the past. Detroit's position also could hardly be considered enviable, but Kansas City, Missouri, at least knows where it stands now, something not true a decade ago, while other sore spots of the early 1930's show sharp improvement if not the attainment of a wholly satisfactory position.

A number of the smaller urban centers are in what it is not too much to term the strongest financial positions in their history, while the cities of under 50,000 population¹ are probably (no comprehensive fiscal data for this population group are available) at least as well off as they were in 1930.

Cities Face Fiscal Strain

Granting that the majority of municipalities face the present crisis more favorably situated than they were when the depression began, the fact still remains that they are to be subjected to great fiscal strains. Moreover, the solution of the emerging problems must be compatible with two objectives: we must on the one hand maintain local government as a vital force in the defense effort, and on the other so shape the revenue system of local government in the emergency as to produce the maximum benefit to our entire war economy.

Maintenance of essential services of local government will of itself be a tremendous task, but we will weaken our entire war effort and court post-war disaster if we are content to stop with this single objective. Local finance

¹See yearly compilation of the bonded debt and comparative tax rates for cities of over 30,000 population, by Rosina K. Mohaupt, appearing, respectively, in the June and December issues of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

must be geared into the entire productive and financial structure of the nation if we are to derive the maximum from the war effort. This means, among other things, that local government must not be a competitor for goods or services with our war effort; and as a corollary that it must not compete with the war effort for money and credit.

Equally important, local government must not by precipitate and ill-advised action unbalance our national economy on a war basis by a repetition of the tax-slashing "economy" approach which contributed to such fiscal disaster in the early 1930's. A few examples will make clear what is meant by these observations.

At the present time the best estimates seem to indicate that we are devoting approximately 15 per cent of our national production to the "defense" effort. In 1942 the defense program calls for the use of about 40 per cent of our production for war materials, etc., and this proportion will undoubtedly be raised in the light of a change from a "defense" to a "victory" program.

If during the next year 40 per cent of our production, or more, goes for the war effort, there remains only 60 per cent, or less, for civilian purposes, including the purposes of local government. To the extent that local governments inaugurate heavy construction requiring men and materials for public buildings, etc., they will be in direct competition with the 40 per cent of production needed for war effort. To the extent that they compete with supplies and services which would otherwise be available for civilian use, local government will contribute to price inflation and scarcities; however, this competition will be no greater than that exercised by a like volume of private demand, and if local government fully takes advantage of the pur-

chasing techniques available to it and follows a well-thought-out policy the competition may be much less than that coming from a like private demand.

Another example of the need for correlation between local governmental fiscal activity and the national economy is in the field of taxation. Should the federal government continue its policy of borrowing the greater part of the funds needed for the war effort, it will be especially necessary that local government hold firm to existing levels of taxation. If the federal government follows the wiser policy of taxing much and borrowing little for the war effort, however, in order to take up that portion of the national purchasing power which would otherwise be competing for the 60 per cent or so of national production available for civilian use, there will be great need for coordination between federal and local taxation.

In this connection there is already appearing in the press and elsewhere an urgent demand that local taxation be reduced as an offset to higher federal taxes. If met, these demands will lead only to fiscal disaster, for they are predicated on the wholly fallacious idea that "total war" can be waged with "business as usual."

In so far as the civilian population is concerned, its chief concern through the war effort must be, first, to increase its production, and second, to secure a sufficient amount of that production available for civilian use to keep fed, clothed, and sheltered.

Public Funds for Defense

The defense effort to date has been financed largely with publicly dispensed funds, not by privately placed loans to industry, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to be so financed. Present high taxation and prospectively higher taxation cannot

therefore be regarded as a deterrent to production, since it provides the very sinews of that production.

At the same time, insufficient taxation is a very real threat to the civilian population's effort to keep fed, clothed, and housed, since as has been noted only 60 per cent of production will be available for civilian use. Only if roughly 40 per cent (or whatever percentage goes for war) of the national income is being taken out of purchasing power can the spectre of inflation for the civilian population be avoided. If local government decreases its taxation as the federal government increases its taxes, the "sopping up" process will be incomplete.

Naturally, this does not mean that local government is to go on a spending spree; but it does mean at budget-making time in city hall there is more to be considered than the understandable demands of a part of the taxpayers that the local budget be slashed to the bone.

It is, of course, unfortunate that the war broke before the President's committee on federal-local tax relationships had brought its work to fruition. The demands of the emergency, however, can be met in a workable manner without any structural alteration of the federal-state-local tax systems, desirable though such alteration is as a long-term objective. Local government has already in the first weeks of the war given ample evidence that as the training school for democracy it ranks higher than any other agency yet devised; it remains only for concerted, daring, and imaginative action to mobilize the administrative and technical skills which are available to it. Then local government will contribute the maximum benefit to be derived from its unique position as the fountainhead of democratic action.

Cities of Three Countries Show Tax Collection Decline

Local governments in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom are collecting a smaller proportion of total taxes now than they did ten years ago. Australia showed relative stability in the division of tax collections.

For the United States local tax collections in 1930 were 48 per cent of the total. By 1935 they had dropped to 45 per cent, and in 1940 they stood at 34 per cent. Federal tax collections, by contrast, totaled 35 per cent in 1930 and 1935, rising to 38 per cent in 1940. State tax collections were 17 per cent of the total in 1930, 20 per cent in 1935, and 28 per cent in 1940.

The proportion of taxes collected by local governments in Canada decreased from 42 per cent in 1930 to 40 per cent in 1935, and then to 24 per cent in 1940. Dominion tax collections in Canada rose from 43 to 46 per cent in the 1930-1935 period, and to 59 per cent by 1940. Tax collections by the provinces totaled 15 per cent in 1930, 14 per cent in 1935, and 17 per cent in 1940.

In the United Kingdom the national government collected 79 per cent of total taxes in 1930, and local governments 21 per cent. By 1935 the division was 80-20 per cent, and in 1940 it was 84-16 per cent.

These figures are reported by the Federation of Tax Administrators. Since the taxes in the study were computed for fiscal years, the impact of the war scarcely affected 1940 data, the federation said. Changes now taking place in the tax structures of the various countries are indicated in estimates of tax collections for the United States for 1941-42. About 54 per cent of a total tax bill of \$22 billion will be collected by the federal government for this period; states and localities expect to collect about 23 per cent each.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Seven P. R. Elections

The First Try in Cambridge

THE election on November 4, 1941, the first under the new Plan E (Cincinnati Plan) charter in Cambridge, Massachusetts, resulted in the choice for council of four Plan E Committee-endorsed candidates and of five who did not receive the charter committee endorsement. The Plan E Committee had endorsed a slate of eleven—seven Democrats and five Republicans—hoping to elect five out of the nine councillors and thus insure the choice of an able, experienced, trained city manager rather than a local untrained man.

A vigorous campaign, covering a period of two months, was waged by the Plan E Committee. An organization of five hundred volunteers canvassed the voters from house to house. Rallies and educational meetings were held in every section of the city. Speakers were sent to clubs.

In addition to the literature distributed by hand from door to door, a press campaign was conducted, with radio talks, and two leaflets were mailed to every registered voter, one containing pictures and records of the endorsed candidates and one a sample ballot sent out the day before election. An organization of over three hundred served at the polls on election day, distributing sample ballots, checking, telephoning, and transporting voters to the polls.

In spite of all this effort to educate the voters and get them out to the ballot box, only 68 per cent of the registered vote of about 53,000 came out, in contrast to 78 per cent at the last

municipal election, in 1939. The fifth Plan E candidate was defeated by only 30 votes. Cambridge is overwhelmingly Democratic, although the election is nonpartisan. Only one Republican was elected out of nine, whereas in the old Council of fifteen, two members were Republicans.

In analyzing the reasons for the loss of the fifth Plan E Committee man on the Council, the chief among them seems to be that general enemy of good government everywhere, "Public Apathy No. 1." Perhaps because of the world situation, the voters could not be interested in local issues. The vote in Boston and other municipalities was also light. In a city like Cambridge, where many voters earn their livings elsewhere, and where there are only about eight thousand individual home owners as compared with 53,000 registered voters, many fail to get excited about local politics.

Another circumstance that reacted badly for Plan E was the backing of an entirely Republican slate by the Republican City Committee, followed by an entirely Democratic slate backed by the Democratic City Committee. The election was officially nonpartisan and might have remained really so but for the initial action of the Republican City Committee. The one chance was to induce the large number of Democrats who had voted for the Plan E charter to vote for Plan E Committee candidates. This chance was lost through the injection of the party-politics issue, with the result that the fusionist slate was sacrificed. It is significant, however, that four of the Plan E slate were elected while only three of the Democratic slate were successful. Of the two remaining candidates elected, one was on no slate, and one was on the unofficial slate of the former mayor, now under court sentence for conspiracy to secure bribes.

It is interesting to note that while all wards showed a drop in percentage of registered vote cast, as compared with 1939, the drop in the better-educated and more privileged wards was only from 3 to 6 per cent, while the drop in the less privileged wards ranged from 19 per cent to 11 per cent. This is partly explained by the fact that in former mayoralty campaigns, the latter group of wards were accustomed to having much money spent to buy votes in one way or another, and this year money was not forthcoming. Furthermore, this year the campaign was comparatively decent and quiet, and it was impossible to dramatize and play up rival personalities as in former mayoralty campaigns.

An encouraging feature of the election was the small number of invalid ballots, only 685 out of 35,553, or less than 2 per cent. This fact proved that the electorate had easily grasped P.R.—that the advance educational work had been successful. It was less successful in that over 17,000 voters failed to go to the polls. In all, 30,269 voters found representation on the council—about 85 per cent of those who voted; 16,831 (about 47.5 per cent) saw their first choice elected. The fifth Plan E Committee candidate had been sixth highest in first-choice votes, but in the final count, he was defeated by 30 votes by the candidate who had ranked thirteenth in the first-choice votes.

One important lesson to be learned from the election is that only a candidate who is well known on a citywide basis has a chance of election, even with strong organization backing. The fifth Plan E candidate was not widely known. All five of the successful non-Plan E Committee candidates were former councillors re-elected, and it may be said that with one exception they were the more desirable of the councillors who ran for re-election

without Plan E Committee backing.

The new Council is a distinct improvement over the old, both as to calibre and as to number. On the whole, they seem desirous of doing a good job and appreciate the fact that they are on trial and must make good by choosing a good city manager.

On the School Committee two of the Plan E Committee candidates were successful among the six to be elected, one (the only woman elected) a Republican, and one a Democrat. Twenty-eight candidates contested the election. Seventy-eight per cent of the valid votes were effective in electing candidates; 2 per cent of the votes cast were invalid.

This was the first time that P.R. has ever been used for a school board election in the United States.

The election count, while slow, was entirely fair and creditable for a first effort. Much valuable experience was gained.

AMELIA WORTHINGTON FISK
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Independents Win in Yonkers

The second P. R. election in Yonkers built up the strong City Manager League minority on the first P. R. council to a controlling majority in the council which is to serve for 1942 and 1943. One of the three city managerites elected was also on the Republican ticket. The Democrats, whose ticket did not overlap either of the others, elected two.

The experience of Yonkers is in striking contrast to that of Schenectady, where a group of independent citizens, the Charter League, secured the adoption of the city manager plan a few years ago and, without benefit of P. R., tried to elect a majority of the first manager plan council from a high-grade representative ticket to make sure that

the beneficial possibilities of the manager plan were fully realized. Although the initial victory in Schenectady had been won by a larger margin than in Yonkers, it proved impossible to get a plurality of the voters to risk a vote for an independent slate under a system of election which offered no assurance of minority representation and no second and third choices to fall back on in case the first choice lost. A creditable vote was polled, almost a third of the total vote, but none of the Charter League candidates was elected. The Republican organization, with only a little more than a third of the total vote, elected all but one of the councilmen. The independents became so discouraged that the Republican organization has made a clean sweep of the council and kept full control of the city council ever since.

In Yonkers also the independent group which secured the adoption of the manager plan polled less than a majority of the votes against regular Republican and Democratic tickets at the first council election, but under the freer conditions of P. R. it secured a large enough vote to elect two representatives out of five. With this encouraging start it was able to secure a degree of coöperation from the Republican party at the second election and to win control of the council and the city government. The difference in the experience of these two cities may be attributed almost wholly to the difference in their methods of election.

The independent group in Cambridge, the Plan E Committee, is now in the same position as the Yonkers City Manager League was two years ago, having elected four councillors out of nine at the first P. R. election for the new manager plan government in that city and two out of six on the school committee. If the members of the Democratic party majority do not rise to the challenge and give the city a

superior administration, either in cooperation with the independent minority or by themselves, the independent minority is in a strategic position to become a majority two years hence.

The successful Yonkers candidates this fall, in the order of their election, are Mrs. Edith P. Welty, a City Manager League leader from the beginning and an independent Republican, who was re-elected; Curtiss E. Frank, City Manager League and Republican, a former assistant United States district attorney, a member of the school board, and a law partner of Charles E. Hughes, Jr.; Dr. Benjamin F. Barnes, City Manager League, a popular physician and independent Democrat; James A. Sullivan, Democratic party leader who was re-elected; and Al P. Richter, Democrat, a young advertising executive with a reputation for independence, who belongs to another wing of the party and is said to owe his election to an energetic Democratic youth movement.

Mr. Richter replaced Councilman Dennis A. Cooper, a Democrat of the Sullivan wing, who was defeated early in the count. Councilman Robert H. Goodwillie, Otis Elevator Company executive who led the poll last time for the City Manager League, was also defeated in spite of a Republican endorsement, though he made a good showing and was the last candidate to go out. Mayor John J. Condon, Republican, who lined up with the two organization Democrats in the first P. R. council against the two independent Republican City Manager League members, was not re-designated by his party and did not run. The Republican and Democratic parties and the City Manager League each nominated seven candidates (two candidates being joint nominees of the City Manager League and the Republicans) and there was also one unattached independent, making twenty candidates in all.

The five elected councilmen, obviously a widely representative group, were elected by 47,251 voters, 92 per cent of the 51,237 who cast valid ballots. Mrs. Welty and Mr. Frank reached the full quota of 10,000 fixed in the charter before the end of the count, Dr. Barnes and Mr. Sullivan came within 500 of doing so, and Mr. Richter was just short of 8,000. A little more than half the voters helped elect their very first choices.

There were 2,701 invalid ballots and 532 blanks, making a total of 54,470 P. R. ballots dropped in the ballot boxes. Thus 5 per cent of the ballots marked were spoiled. This, of course, was much more than balanced by the valid ballots made effective by P. R. which would have been wasted on losing candidates under any other system. Even counting in the invalid ballots and blanks, 87 per cent of all the ballots cast were used to help elect candidates voted for.

The count was finished in four days, without a discrepancy of a single ballot, under the competent direction of Gabriel L. Kaplan of New York City, who was co-director of the first two P. R. counts in Manhattan. The *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* at the end of the count ran a special first page story entitled "Candidates, Watchers, Workers, All Laud City's 2nd P. R. Count."

As at the first Yonkers P. R. election two years ago, the *Herald-Statesman*, which is the city's principal newspaper, did an outstanding job of reporting the count. Since the election it has renewed its support of the system editorially.

Postscript

The account above was prepared before the Yonkers council met to organize on January 2. Action taken at that meeting made the outlook for the reform group far less rosy though it did not change the essential facts of the fall election. Dr. Barnes, former organization Democrat, broke with the City Manager League, on whose ticket he had been elected, and joined forces

with the two other Democratic councilmen to get himself elected mayor and Mr. Sullivan vice-mayor.

Because of this unexpected demonstration of human frailty the City Manager League must apparently wait two more years for a chance at the control of the city government which the public thought it had given League candidates. Meanwhile, the vigorous and able minority is in a position to keep the majority on its toes on pain of defeat in 1943, and the quality of government should continue better than under the old mayor-council regime with plurality elections.

Cincinnati Gets a Republican Majority

An address before the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, held in conjunction with the annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

In the closest and most exciting proportional representation election in Cincinnati history, the Republican organization acquired responsible control of the Cincinnati City Council for the first time in sixteen years.

The trend which ended in this result has been visible for some time. The Charter Committee nearly elected a seventh man out of nine in 1925, missing by only 77 votes. In 1927 and 1929 the margin by which it elected six was steadily whittled down until in 1931 the Republicans put in four instead of three for the first time. The Charter Committee retained five until 1935, when the Coughlinite movement, added to anti-utility agitation, put Herbert Bigelow in as the ninth man of a 4-4-1 council. Bigelow's influence continued after he himself had gone to Congress and his man Craig went in as a Progressive Democrat in 1937. After Bigelow's defeat for Congress in 1938 he ran again for council and became the ninth man once more two years ago,

Craig on the same ticket being defeated.

This year Craig became a Republican, and with his usual Central Labor Council backing, became one of the new Republican majority. Locker, the Republican Negro candidate, vigorously backed by the organization, made an extraordinary run and will speak for his race, unrepresented during the last two years. Klein, in council for the last six years and Republican vice-mayor in 1938 and 1939, lost out. The seven other incumbent councilmen were re-elected, but two of the Charterites, Russell Wilson and Albert D. Cash, had a close call. They got ahead of one of the defeated Republicans by only a few hundred votes, and then passed Herbert Bigelow by the same margin to achieve the eighth and ninth places.

The council, as always under P.R., is widely representative. The strictly organization group of Republicans are represented by the Mayor, James Garfield Stewart, and in part by Willis Gradison, a well known broker, and John Molloy, a retired business man. Locker is a well known attorney and will speak effectively for the basin of the city, where living conditions and lack of employment opportunities so profoundly affect the city's progress. Craig is power engineer for the local Standard Brands plant and speaks for the local A. F. of L. leadership.

On the Charter Committee side the Democratic group is represented by Edward N. Waldvogel, a local uniform manufacturer, and by Albert D. Cash, the son of Dennis Cash, safety director of the reform Hunt administration of 1912 and 1913, and a leading lawyer. Russell Wilson and I represent the independent groups, principally Republican.

It is probably a healthy development to give the ball to the organization. They will have no trouble with elect-

ing the Mayor and the other council positions, where excitement has developed the last three times when a 4-4-1 council took office. But the question of continuing Colonel Sherrill as city manager takes the stage instead. Locker and Craig promised in every speech to fire him. Stewart is known to be sympathetic to that viewpoint. But Gradison and Molloy will be strong for him and will be backed by the Republican Policy Committee.

As in the past, the Charter group will probably pick up one of the Republican votes on many of its controversial measures, and of course it must be remembered that there is hardly a division on important measures more than a couple of times a month. Those divisions have not often been on party lines, but that may increase. As long as the Charter group can continue to function as a militant minority of four, we shall expect the disintegration of standards of good government to be slow.

CHARLES P. TAFT

Member, Cincinnati City Council, and
Assistant Director, U. S. Office of
Defense Health and Welfare Services

Toledo Votes without Tickets

In each of Toledo's first three P. R. elections the City Manager League, which had launched the successful campaign for the adoption of the city's P. R.-city manager charter in 1934, put forward a ticket of candidates for the city council. After the League had failed for the first time in 1939 to elect a majority of the members, but the council had chosen one of its candidates as mayor anyway and given a reasonably good account of itself, the League decided to cease functioning as a municipal party nominating candidates and reorganized as a civic organization, the

Toledo Municipal League. Since partisan tickets had long since ceased to be factors in Toledo municipal elections, this left the council election of 1941 a nonpartisan contest of 26 individual candidates.

The result was the re-election of almost the whole council, the only change being the election of Michael V. DiSalle in place of Councilman Frank I. Consaul. Both had been on the City Manager League ticket in 1939. The new council of nine members will contain four who were on this last City Manager League ticket and Councilman Charles D. Hoover who was on the League's ticket in 1935 and 1937 and who helped to elect the League's candidate for mayor, John Q. Carey, in 1940. This fall Mayor Carey led the popular poll and was the only candidate to secure a full quota of first choices.

Seven of the nine councilmen-elect secured the full quota of 6,352 before the end of the count and 89 per cent of the valid ballots were effective in helping to elect candidates for whom they had been marked.

The count was efficiently conducted as usual under the direction of William E. Galvin and was completed early on the Sunday morning following election day. The total cost of the count and other special P. R. expenses such as the printing of ballots was \$10,946.

After the election Councilman Howard W. Etchen, who was re-elected, introduced a resolution to submit the repeal of P. R. (already twice rejected by the voters) and the substitution of plurality vote at large at the primary election in August. A crowded hearing was held on the resolution November 25, at which many prominent citizens spoke for or against it, after which the council voted unanimously to table it and it was subsequently officially killed. The sponsor agreed to go along with the other councilmen in taking the

position that if opponents of P. R. wanted another vote on repeal they should use their right to require it by petition.

Supporters of P. R. at the hearing included Robert Pugh, member of the charter commission which presented the present P. R.-manager charter to the voters; Professor of Political Science O. Garfield Jones of the University of Toledo; Frank Geer, former president of the City Manager League; Eva Epstein Shaw, attorney, appearing for the League of Women Voters; and Henry Andrews, a South Side civic leader and traffic safety commissioner, who announced himself as a convert to P. R. on the basis of Toledo's experience.

Mr. Geer, according to the *Toledo Blade* of November 26, "attacked assertions that P. R. is expensive, declaring that the four municipal primaries prior to adoption of P. R. cost \$102,038 while the four P. R. elections have cost only \$43,891" for items not included in the regular cost of a final election. P. R. has made it possible to abolish the municipal primaries.

"Mr. Pugh," according to the same account, "cited the increasing majorities in elections on the P. R. system. The original charter proposal carried by 4,215 votes in 1934; in a special election on P. R. in 1935 the majority was 7,286, and in another special election in 1937 the majority increased to 17,824." The first two of these votes included the manager plan, the last one proposed some weakening of the manager plan but was principally directed at P. R.

An account of the P. R. elections in Hamilton, Ohio, and Boulder, Colorado, will appear in next month's department. The third election of the New York City Council, which was also carried out under P. R. this fall, was described in some detail in this department last month.

A REPORT OF PROGRESS

(Continued from Page 2)

the high quality of its leadership and with the number of people it has been able to enlist in its service as volunteer officers, members of the Council, Executive Committee, special investigating committees, speakers, contributors to the *REVIEW* and other publications, and participants in its conferences.

"An impartial appraisal of the League may be found in the writings of professional students of municipal government. Without exception, they place it first among national citizen organizations engaged in civic reform. They refer to the League as the pioneer, the outstanding, the most important, and the most influential organization in the movement for better city government.

"At various times the League has been called a 'civic army,' a 'civic clinic,' a 'national clearing house on governmental subjects,' a 'reservoir of facts and information,' and 'an established medium for disseminating information on government. . . .'

"The League is a school of thought that stabilizes reform along sound and practical lines; it represents the consensus of opinion of thinking people as to what local government should be. It has been and will continue to be the heart of the municipal reform movement in the United States."

Early publication of this book is planned.

Progress and Responsibilities

The League now faces greater responsibilities than ever, not only because of its reputation as described by Dr. Stewart and the increasing reliance placed on it for leadership, but also because of the present fluid state of world and national affairs.

During the League's life and with its

help the quality of local government has improved tremendously—but the problems and scope of local government have multiplied at a rapid rate and will continue to do so. Local civic and governmental research organizations have increased greatly in number and effectiveness—but in the former category they are with few exceptions led by "amateurs" with neither time nor facilities to develop for themselves the fact-ammunition for which they lean heavily on the League.

Important Publications

This year has brought the completion of work which has been proceeding over a period of years. The long-awaited, completely revised edition of the *Model City Charter*, on which a distinguished committee has been at work for more than four years, has been published. There has been widespread interest throughout the country in this important document. Before publication there were advance orders in the office for about five hundred copies. Considering its technical nature, this demand demonstrates its great breadth of influence. The Charter, the first draft of which was issued in 1900, has attained almost nationwide acceptance as the standard for charter commissions and draftsmen. More than 530 cities are now using the council-manager plan, the form of government prescribed by the Charter, and its standards have affected favorably the basic law of hundreds of other communities using other administrative forms.

Richard S. Childs is chairman of the Model City Charter Committee and Arnold Frye is chairman of the subcommittee on style and draft. While every member made his own vital contribution to the work of the committee, the unselfish work of Mr. Frye, who devoted many weeks to the arduous labor of drafting provisions and review-

ing and weaving into the charter drafts prepared by others, was especially noteworthy.

A complete revision of the *Model State Constitution* has also been published this year by a committee of which Professor W. Brooke Graves of Temple University is chairman. The Constitution, first issued in 1921, has exerted a constructive influence on the framework of state government and the development of sound principles of state policy and administration.

Among other publications issued during the year were:

Citizen Organization for Political Activity—The Cincinnati Plan, a pamphlet of 48 pages which describes the organization and method of operation of the City Charter Committee of Cincinnati, thoroughly revised to provide a specific guide for other cities.

Local Progress in Labor Peace, 28 pages, a compilation of reports from various localities of efforts by municipal governments to solve the difficult and critical problem of industrial strikes.

City Growing Pains, a pamphlet of 116 pages to supplement with recent progress reports the League's *Governments of Metropolitan Areas* published in 1930. It includes seventeen studies of metropolitan areas.

Consultant Service

The Consultant Service this year completed an administrative and financial survey of the city of Passaic, New Jersey. The survey was carried out under the direction of Robert M. Goodrich, director of the Providence Bureau of Governmental Research and long an active member and officer of the League. The survey staff was recruited from various local bureaus of governmental research and from among local

and state specialists who obtained leaves from their regular positions.

National Municipal Review

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW has devoted considerable attention this year to the growing pressure of the national defense program on local government. One new department, National Defense and the Cities, edited by Daniel W. Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee and now consultant of the Office of Civilian Defense, has been included in the REVIEW since May. Articles on this and related subjects have been contributed by Mr. Hoan; Charles P. Taft, city councilman of Cincinnati and assistant director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services; Hon. John G. Winant, president of the League and Ambassador to the Court of St. James's; William E. Mosher, of Syracuse University; and Barnet Hodes, corporation counsel of Chicago. The REVIEW has also discussed the problem editorially.

In line with the publication policy announced in last year's report, the REVIEW has carried several series of timely articles sufficiently important to be republished in pamphlet form. Two have appeared during 1941: *Local Progress in Labor Peace*, comprising three articles by William L. Nunn of the University of Newark, and *City Growing Pains*, a series of articles on metropolitan area problems in sixteen cities, with an over-all discussion of the subject by Dr. Thomas H. Reed.

Three articles on the right of public employees to strike—each by a specialist in his field—appeared in the September issue.

Four of the REVIEW's articles have been republished in *Reader's Digest* since the secretary's 1940 report.

Orders were received for reprints of 28 articles which appeared in the REVIEW during the year.

Reporting Consultant Service

With the aid of the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco, the National Municipal League coöperated in inaugurating late in 1941 a Municipal Reporting Consultant Service. This service, which will be on an experimental basis and limited to communities in the state of California for the first year, is under the direction of Miss Miriam Roher, a contributing editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and former member of the League staff as publications editor. Miss Roher has spent the past year, as National Women's Public Service Fellow, conducting a series of field experiments in California to test the effectiveness of various types of municipal reporting methods. The service will be self-supporting and non-profit.

National Conference

The League's forty-seventh annual National Conference on Government, held November 17, 18, and 19 at St. Louis, Missouri, placed considerable emphasis on the effect of the defense program on municipal affairs. With 180 speakers and participants and an overall attendance of 4,700 persons at all sessions, the conference was the best attended in the League's history.

The Year's Progress

The nationwide movement for better municipal government, in connection with which local civic leaders look to the League for information and fact-ammunition, brought the adoption of the council-manager form of government by eighteen cities during 1941. In 1942, 545 cities and counties will be using the manager plan. There were no abandonments of the plan during the year.

The Indiana state legislature passed a resolution which, if passed again by the 1943 legislature, will bring to a popular vote the question of amending

the constitution to permit cities to adopt their own home rule charters. Movements for similar amendments or enabling legislation are continuing in New Hampshire, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Washington. The Arkansas legislature repealed its 1939 act authorizing cities of more than 50,000 (Little Rock) to adopt the manager plan.

Hamilton County, Tennessee, obtained a modified form of the county manager plan from the legislature. In South Carolina an act created the office of manager for Darlington County, with appointment by the governor on recommendation by the county's legislative delegation. Efforts to obtain the county manager plan are under way in at least seven states. North Dakota's legislature provided forms of the manager plan for counties. Similar bills failed in Oregon, Connecticut, and Ohio.

The voters of New York City overwhelmingly adopted an amendment to that city's charter abolishing county offices which civic organizations had branded as useless sinecures for politicians.

State reorganization legislation was passed in Colorado, North Carolina, and Montana. Voters of Missouri adopted a constitutional amendment to take judges out of politics. A bill was introduced in the California legislature providing for a constitutional amendment setting up the state manager plan. Movements for constitutional revision are under way in New Jersey and Missouri, with some discussion of a similar effort in Michigan.

There was widespread progress in the extension of the merit system in the civil service. The most sweeping advance was in New York State, where a legislative act provided wholesale extension to every civil division in the state. Merit system acts were passed also by Indiana, Kansas, North Carolina, and Vermont. New Mexico's civil

service system was abolished. St. Louis, Missouri, and San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties, California, voted for civil service reform, as did a number of other cities.

The constitutionality of proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was upheld in a significant decision. Cambridge is the first to use this system of voting for a school board. The right to use proportional representation, already available to other Massachusetts cities, was extended to Boston by the legislature.

Pamphlets for use in campaigns for the improvement of local government continued to be the most popular of League publications. The total distribution of various publications during 1941 was 15,689, of which 14,280 were sold.

Due largely to the effects of the war, which has deprived most of our foreign members of mail delivery of publications, there was a net decline of 86 in the League's membership. With few exceptions the League's foreign membership is now limited to persons and organizations in the allied countries and the western hemisphere.

President Winant to Continue with Steering Committee

The League is deeply appreciative of the generous service during the past year of John G. Winant as president. Although appointed Ambassador to Great Britain soon after being chosen to succeed President Dykstra at the Springfield meeting, President Winant has been constantly helpful. In the midst of his important duties in London, where the American Ambassador holds a more vital position than perhaps at any previous time in our history, he has always found time to advise and give direction and leadership to the League.

Mr. Winant consented to continue as

president with the understanding that a steering committee, composed of Clarence Francis, Carl H. Pforzheimer, George H. Gallup, and others still to be appointed, would take the active responsibility for League finances and program. The League officers named have agreed to do so.

Because the council members and other officers and members of the League play so real a part in the success of its activities, it is difficult to single out only a few for mention in this brief report. The officers and members are, in a participating sense as well as an organizational sense, the League itself. There are several men this year, however, who have made outstanding contributions. Henry L. Shattuck of Boston, who as vice-president became acting president during Mr. Winant's absence from the country, has given much to the work despite other heavy demands on his time. His responsibilities at Harvard University have increased and he is one of the most vigorous members of the Boston city council and active in Boston and Massachusetts civic affairs in addition to being active in his own profession. He nevertheless has given vigorous leadership to the League, contributing time and effort as well as substantial financial support.

To our treasurer, Carl H. Pforzheimer, who has had a particularly busy year as chairman of the Westchester County Planning Commission, and to Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council and for many years a staunch friend, acknowledgments are also due. Both have contributed much in time, effort and funds.

Future Plans

As for the future, the League will be what we make it. In a period when men's participation in public affairs has become acutely vital to the preservation of paramount values, the League

has made a needed contribution in showing the way in which such participation may be effective and in developing methods of meeting the new problems. The knowledge already developed as a result of the League's half century of activity needs to be put to wider use; the techniques that have been learned will aid in the solution of new difficulties.

In coöperation with officers and members of the council, the staff has been developing several major projects of great immediate importance. Most, if not all of them, will become increasingly important when post-war conditions eventually are faced.

Model Fiscal Program

A finance committee under the leadership of Major Fred N. Oliver, a member of the council, is raising funds to support a nationwide program of public education on model fiscal legislation for cities, which the League will publish shortly and which will be vital to help prepare cities for the financial shock of the war and post-war periods. Essential pieces of final research on this program are in process under the direction of Arnold Frye and Frederick L. Bird, members of the League's national Committee on Model Fiscal Program.

The model fiscal program is now composed of three new laws in final proof form—a *Model Bond Law*, a *Model Accrual Budget Law*, and a *Model Cash Basis Law*—all drafted in a form suitable for enactment by state legislatures as standards for sound financial practice in our cities. Others in the series are in process of preparation.

With proper financing of the final program, which now seems probable, the League will publish the laws and will then undertake an educational campaign leading toward an understanding of these laws by important citizen groups throughout the country. Al-

ready, even before official publication, the committee has been consulted and its recommendations asked in connection with the drafting of bills passed in Pennsylvania and bills in preparation in New York State.

These model laws will be a consensus of expert opinion and will take full cognizance of significant practical experience.

Citizen Training for 21-year-olds

Celebration of "Citizenship Day," sometimes under the name of "I Am an American Day," has spread rapidly during the past two years but for the most part these celebrations have been shallow and have provided little more than patriotic oratory and musical entertainment. Sincere as these efforts have been, the original concept by which the day served to induct 21-year-olds as full-fledged citizens *after a period of special training* has been submerged.

Sensing the danger of losing a great opportunity at a time when there is potential widespread acceptance of a sound program to improve the quality of the citizenry, many educators and civic leaders have urged the National Municipal League to assume national leadership of this movement in order to set a constructive pattern and to guide it into sound channels.

Such a project would cost \$32,000 a year, it is estimated. Applications are pending before the trustees of several foundations for portions of this amount.

Citizen Training in Schools

In view of the widespread demand for effective citizen training, it would be an important and timely service to reconstitute, probably in coöperation with other organizations, several League committees which at various times since 1900 have sought means of improving the effectiveness of the teaching of young citizens in the schools.

It is recommended that steps be taken to gain the coöperation of organizations of professional educators and others in forming three committees (or one major committee with three subcommittees) to ascertain the extent and effectiveness of instruction in local government and citizenship and to recommend specific means of improvement at these levels:

1. The primary grades
2. The secondary schools
3. In colleges and universities

A committee concerned with this problem in colleges and universities was appointed at the Milwaukee Conference in 1900, with President Thomas M. Drown of Lehigh University as chairman. Its reports were widely circulated and were credited with great usefulness. In 1903 a Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions, with Dr. William H. Maxwell, superintendent of schools of New York, as chairman, was appointed to carry on similar work in secondary and elementary schools. Several pamphlets, including *What Constitutes Good Citizenship*, *Training for Citizenship*, *Plan for the Promotion of Civic Education* and *Measuring the Value of Civic Training*, were issued by the latter committee between 1911 and 1914. In 1919 there was created a Committee on Civic Education, with Professor Edgar Dawson of Hunter College as chairman. As a result of this committee's work, the League in 1923 published and distributed gratis to teachers thousands of copies of a pamphlet, *Outlines of Responsible Government*, designed as supplementary reading for texts in civics.

Under present conditions the need for examination of our methods of training young citizens is more widely

recognized than ever, and educators are earnestly seeking sound methods of improving the process.

Staff Losses and Needs

The year just past has been a year of hard work and accomplishment, mingled with serious trials. With the development of the defense emergency, it became more difficult to raise funds to support the League's work. Substantial staff reductions have been made at a time when there were increasing demands for guidance from state and local groups coping with problems of local government improvement. This has placed a severe burden upon the remaining members of the staff. As a member of the New York State Civil Service Commission, the secretary's time has been heavily occupied and his functions as secretary have been limited to planning, guiding, and the determination of policy. This in turn has imposed a much heavier burden of responsibility upon the staff. It should be said here that both Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and Elwood N. Thompson, field director, as well as the other members of the staff, have done yeoman service in forwarding the program of the League and making this year one of genuine achievement.

With the new steering committee determined to work out a definite financial program under strong leadership, there is reason for confidence that the League's financial problems will be solved. Now, at a time when the demands upon the League for service are greater than the present reduced staff can handle, the League should be expanding rather than contracting its activities.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

American State Government (revised edition). By W. Brooke Graves. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1941. xv, 944 pp. \$4.

It is hard to realize that five years have gone by since the first edition of this book—which, being a textbook in political science, must be revised frequently to be of effective use so rapid are the changes which technology and other forces are making. Certainly no late development has been omitted—the appendix consists of the fourth edition of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League.¹

While the changes between the first and second edition are many, the characteristic of the first edition which impressed this reviewer is now deepened and strengthened. Chapter X on "The Governor" is a fine example of the book's quality. It is a quality which makes the term "textbook" quite too dry and academic. That chapter in particular and parts of several others make us realize that Dr. Graves is interested in the way state government serves human beings, not merely in how the machinery of state government is put together. Realizing that sometimes poets are wiser than logicians he boldly quotes from them, as on page 886, when he would have us comprehend certain elements in a problem.

A review of this book, short of a few thousand words, would not be worthy of that term. Hence this is simply a notice that the second edition of *American State Government* is now available and will be found particularly useful by all teachers, citizens, and administrators intent on making and keep-

ing state government human and for the people.

W. J. M.

Public Policy. A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Edited by C. F. Friedrich and Edward S. Mason; associate editor, Pendleton Herring. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1941. viii, 458 pp. \$4.

This is the second yearbook of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with budgetary and fiscal problems and the second with defense problems and miscellaneous. The first part contains eight chapters or essays on certain budgetary and fiscal aspects of the national government, and one chapter on the Bank of France. The second part has two chapters on defense matters and a chapter each on antitrust procedure and the Hatch law. These chapters embody the results of studies conducted by researchers, professors, and federal civil servants, many of whom have been associated with the Harvard research program.

While most of the topics are interesting and timely, they do not form a unified treatment of the subject matter. Each chapter more or less stands by itself. As a result, the book is little more than a collection of miscellaneous essays, in spite of efforts of the editors to tie the aggregation together.

The most interesting of the essays from this reviewer's standpoint are those dealing with budgetary matters. Harvey S. Perloff writes on "Budgetary Symbolism," apparently taking his cue from some of the recent writings of

¹Published in November 1941.

Thurman Arnold. He feels that the New Deal was greatly hampered by "long-standing traditions and accepted symbols" in the budgetary field. He seems to overlook the fact that budgetary technique was so new and so undeveloped in the federal government during the depression years that it could hardly stand in the way of any political policy. Budgetary "principles," as understood abroad, were simply dressed up by the opposition and used as a sort of scarecrow to frighten the public. The New Dealers, in embryo, were guilty of this same performance in the presidential campaign of 1932. So when Mr. Perloff says, "The prevalent ideology which conceives of public budgeting in terms chiefly of control and economy, under the aegis of traditional principles, casts a mist of unreality over the major issues," he is merely making high-sounding phrases.

Spencer Thompson writes an interesting essay on "The Investment Budget," and shows how the idea may be applied to the United States Forest Service.

Perhaps the most useful essay in the book from a practical standpoint is the chapter by Robert H. Rawson on "The Formulation of the Federal Budget." It presents a thoughtful and up-to-date account of the work of the Budget Bureau in preparing the federal budget, without any efforts at a display of "budgetary blitzkrieg."

The economic theory of "Deficit Finance" is examined and ably condensed into about seventy pages by Benjamin Higgins and Richard A. Musgrave.

A. E. BUCK

Institute of Public Administration

The City-County Consolidated. By John A. Rush. Los Angeles, Calif., 1941. 413 pp. \$4. (Special price to REVIEW readers, \$3.) Apply to author, 121 South Hudson Avenue, Los Angeles.)

"In creating a city-county consolidated, whatever its population, its success cannot be assured unless it is given full power of home rule with the right of designating all its officers without interference by either courts or the legislature. It is the considered opinion of the author, speaking generally, that a city in this country having a population of 100,000 or more will best serve the interests of its people by separating itself from the county and creating itself into a city-county consolidated form of government with home rule powers." These two sentences, almost the last in the book, can be said to be the meaning of the title of this *tour de force* which embodies in a literal sense one man's life.

Readers of the REVIEW, practically speaking, all agree with Mr. Rush, that a grave city-county problem exists before they open his impressive book. The Pharaohs are the "run of the mine" members of constitutional conventions of states in which the courts must now interfere with any such attempt because of the plain language of their state constitutions. Certainly whenever such conventions are aided by the preparation of studies of the questions which they should consider, Mr. Rush's book will not only be found in the bibliographies of several manuals but it will be quoted and referred to frequently.

At times Mr. Rush shows an impatience with compromise schemes, such as that for an Allegheny (Pittsburgh) City-County, which often affects those not called upon to make a practical decision. Whether to try to get as much consolidation as all the factors operative at a given time permit, or to refuse to ask for, and take, less than perfection, must be left to those we have learned to trust and who must make the decision.

"The fundamental defect in the manager plan is the method used in the

appointment of the manager" (p. 84). The discussion in which this sentence occurs shows, as does other material in the book, that Mr. Rush is interested in "efficient" local government and would sacrifice "democracy" to that end. Fortunately, his main argument is not affected by the question as to whether a clear majority of the people of a city, with unhampered opportunity to form and effectively express an opinion, have not a right to "enjoy" what from Mr. Rush's and this reviewer's viewpoint is bad government.

The appearance of this book at this time will certainly be of help to those citizens interested in finding a solution for the metropolitan area problem.

W. J. M.

Civil Service Careers for Boys. By Norman V. Carlisle and Curtis L. Erickson. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941. 202 pp. \$2.

Civil Service Careers for Girls. By Norman V. Carlisle and Doris McFerran. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941. 202 pp. \$2.

The appearance of these books is significant. They make us aware that the day is now here when high school teachers in charge of vocational guidance feel they should bring the attention of their pupils to the multitude of opportunities public employment offers. The book's information is put in story form with Dick and Larry, Peggy and Madge, asking questions and getting the facts which the authors want to pass on to their readers. About three dozen full-page half-tones embellish each book.

Most of the material concerns federal services but occasionally the growth of the merit system in city and state governments is discussed. The girls get a full chapter on that topic and are told that "Somewhere in the neighborhood of 60 per cent of all municipal

employees work under civil service." We hope they learn also that "civil service" and the "merit system" are not synonymous terms.

Information about local opportunities for boys is scattered throughout their book. In a chapter entitled "For the Public Good," they are told: "Unfortunately, social service workers don't get paid as well as other professional workers. Their compensation has to come partly from love of their work." Now that the discussion method for teaching the social sciences is growing in high schools, some of us grown-ups would like to "audit" a discussion by high school students on why that rule for social workers and another for pugilists, football coaches, and movie stars.

To a grown-up these books seem excellent. Whether they are must be left to the critical judgment of fifteen-year-olds, but they certainly should have an opportunity to pass judgment upon them.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Refuse Collection

Planning Refuse Collection Operations. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1941. 48 pp. 50 cents.

State Government

Government and Politics in Alabama. By William Vernon Holloway and Charles W. Smith, Jr. University of Alabama, the University Supply Store, 1941. ix, 210 pp.

Massachusetts Government in Operation. By Ellen Deborah Ellis etc. South Hadley, Massachusetts, Mt. Holyoke College, Department of Political Science, 1941. 21 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Centralization of Taxes. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Development of the New York State Department of Taxation and Finance and the New York State Tax System. By Beulah Bailey Thull. Albany, New York State Department of Taxation and Finance, 1941. 62 pp. mimeo.

Federal Tax Legislation in 1941. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Income War Tax Act, Dominion of Canada, Including Excess Profits Tax and Other Related Measures. Chicago, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1941. 123 pp. \$1.

The Instalment Payment of Real Estate Taxes in Wisconsin Municipalities. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo. \$1.

Municipals. By Committee on Municipal Obligations, National Association of Supervisors of State Banks. Washington, D. C., Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1941. 108 pp. \$1.

Non-Defense Spending Menaces the Nation. Tax Analysis Reveals Urgent Need of Cutting Sharply All Normal Government Costs to Expedite the Defense Program and Avoid Local, State and National Bankruptcy. New York City, Taxpayers Federation, Inc., of the State of New York, 1941. 17 pp.

Sales Taxes Affecting Motor-Vehicle Operation. Important Extracts from an Analysis of General Sales Tax Revenues Resulting from Motor Vehicle Operation. By the Division of Control, Public Roads Administration. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1941. 14 pp.

The Tax Law of the State of New York as of July 1941. Chicago, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1941. 336 pp. \$2.

State Tax Legislation in 1941. Edited

by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

A Study of Problems Contributing to Tax Forfeiture, Tax Delinquency and Depreciation of Business Real Estate Values in Saint Paul with Suggestions for Probable Remedies. Prepared by Mayor's Committee on Tax Forfeiture. St. Paul, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research, 1941.

A Study of Tax Reverted Lands in Michigan, including Analysis of the 1938 Tax Sale and the 1940 Land Salvage Sale and a Review of Tax and Salvage Sale Procedures. Lansing, Michigan Planning Commission, 1941. 72 pp.

Tax Facts and Figures. New York City, The Tax Foundation, 1941. vi, 73 pp.

The Use Tax. Its History, Administration, and Economic Effects. By Maurice Criz. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. vi, 56 pp. \$1.50.

Traffic

Traffic Accidents and Congestion. By Maxwell Halsey. New York City, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941. xvi, 408 pp. \$4.

Miscellaneous

Drainage District Organization and Finance 1879-1937. Prepared by Illinois Tax Commission in Cooperation with Work Projects Administration, 1941. x, 213 pp. maps.

1940 Street Lighting Costs and Lamps in Service in 183 Cities Above 50,000 Population. Compiled by Otto P. Ortlieb. Trenton, New Jersey, Street Lighting Division, Department of Parks and Public Property, 1941. 7 pp. mimeo.

A Study of Waterworks Charges in 286 Cities. Chicago, Barcus, Kindred & Co., 1941. 12 pp. mimeo.